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ABSTRACT

The Visual Communication section of the Proceedings contains the following 12 papers: "The Limits of Copyright Protection for the Use of Visual Works in Motion Pictures, Print Media, and Pop Art in the 1990s" (Andy Bechtel and Arati Korwar); "Afterthoughts on the Representational Strategies of the FSA Documentary" (Edgar Shaohua Huang); "Design Characteristics of Public Journalism: Integrating Visual and Verbal Meaning" (Renita Coleman); "Visual Design for the World Wide Web: What Does the User Want?" (Deborah M. Gross); "Creating Visual Metaphor of the Internet" (Walter M. Bortz, William R. Davie, and Jung-Sook Lee); "Imperial Imaginary: Photography and the Invention of the British Raj" (Shakuntala Rao); "Influencing Creativity in Newsrooms: A Survey of Newspaper, Magazine, and Web Designers" (Renita Coleman and Jan Colbert); "Errors and Inaccuracies in Iowa's Local Newspaper Information Graphics" (Lulu Rodriguez); "Altered Plates: Photo Manipulation and the Search for News Value in the Early and Late Twentieth Century" (Wilson Lowrey); "The Development of Standard and Alternative Forms of Photojournalism" (Timothy Roy Gleason); "Perceptions of Graphics versus No Graphics on Web Sites" (Rebecca J. Chamberlin); and "Who Gets Named?: Nationality, Race and Gender in 'New York Times' Photograph Cutlines" (John Mark King). (PA)

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The Limits of Copyright Protection for the Use of Visual Works in
Motion Pictures, Print Media and Pop Art in the 1990s

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The Limits of Copyright Protection for the Use of Visual Works in Motion Pictures, Print Media and Pop Art in the 1990s

A sculptor discovers through friends that one of his works appears as part of the set in a new blockbuster movie, even though the filmmakers never contacted him about its use. A photographer learns that an artist has created a sculpture based on a popular picture she shot several years earlier. Another photographer finds that a political group has reproduced portions of his works in a pamphlet that argues against federal funding of controversial art. In each situation, the creator of the original work cries foul and files a complaint in court. These types of conflicts strongly implicate the right of free expression protected by the First Amendment, but at the center of them is copyright law.

Disputes involving the unsanctioned use of visual works in other works mark the intersection of copyright law and visual communication, a crossways not visited by many scholars. The rise of "pop art"¹ and the nature of post-modernism² itself have lead to legal collisions between the creators and those who create after them. The desire of some visual artists and filmmakers to comment on American life and conjure up moods, lifestyles and scenes clashes with others' sense of ownership and control of intellectual property. With the ubiquity of photocopiers, scanners, computers and other "instant" technologies, this area of media law promises to be an active and continually evolving one.

This paper will analyze the conflicts that have taken place during the 1990s over the limits of U.S. copyright protection for uses of visual works within other works. Although many of these recent conflicts were resolved by the courts, several other conflicts were settled out of court or are ongoing. Because all of these conflicts are significant to an understanding of the issue, the paper analyzes court opinions for the cases resolved by the courts and detailed news reports for the other cases. The analysis of the resolutions of these conflicts has significance for the work of graphic artists, fine artists, designers in the print media, filmmakers, producers of television shows and anyone else who works with visual

¹ Pop Art refers to "the interest of a number of artists in the images of mass media, advertising, comics and consumer products." BULLFINCH GUIDE TO ART HISTORY 717 (Shearer West ed., 1996).

² "Postmodernism has been described as nothing more than the 'cultural logic' of late capitalism, where image, culture and history are packaged and commercialized." *Id.* at 721.

communication. The analysis also will inform the study of the extent of freedom of expression in our society today.

The paper begins with some basic background information about copyright law. It then presents a review of the recent scholarly literature most relevant to the topic. Following the background section is the analysis of several conflicts from the 1990s. Finally, the paper summarizes the findings and offers some thoughts about copyright and visual communication, with attention to possible problems of the future.

II. Background

Essentially, the purpose of copyright law is to encourage creativity for the benefit of society by protecting the ability of creators to control and profit financially from their creations. Copyright law protects visual works – such as photographs, cartoons, sculptures, paintings and drawings – as well as works in verbal, musical and audiovisual forms. For a limited period of time, the author of a protected work owns the rights of reproduction, distribution, public display, public performance and derivative use of the work. The author may license any of these rights or transfer copyright ownership to another party. To be protected, works must be “original works of authorship fixed in a tangible medium of expression . . . from which they can be perceived, reproduced or otherwise communicated.” In other words, the work must have been independently created by the author, contain at least a grain of creativity and must be recorded in some form, such as on the emulsion of film, on a computer diskette or on drawing paper.³

Copyright does not protect facts or ideas; rather it protects the particular way in which the facts or ideas are expressed. For example, many photographers might share the idea of shooting the same Mardi Gras parade in New Orleans. However, copyright law does not protect the idea to shoot the parade; it protects the choices made in selecting what to photograph, at what angle, with what lens and filter, as well as how the photograph is subsequently processed and printed.

³ 17 U.S.C.A. sec. 101 (West 1996).

The author of a work registered with the U.S. Copyright Office may sue unauthorized users of the work in federal court for copyright infringement. To prove copyright infringement, the author must show that she is the owner of the copyright to the original work and that the defendant copied the work without consent. The author will usually present to the court a certificate of copyright registration as proof of ownership. The author may present direct evidence of copying by pointing to testimony of the defendant admitting, for example, to basing his drawing on an existing drawing. The author may present indirect evidence of copying by showing that the defendant had access to the original work and that the defendant's work is substantially similar to the original work.⁴

Even though an author may be able to prove that she owns the copyright to a work copied without her consent, the defendant may prevail in the case if he can show that his unauthorized use qualifies as a "fair use" of the original. As explained in the U.S. copyright statute, fair uses of copyrighted works without permission are not considered infringements. The law recognizes certain types of uses that are usually considered fair use: criticism and commentary, including parody; news reporting; teaching; scholarship; and research. The purpose of the fair use exception is to prevent copyright ownership from stifling freedom of expression.

The law also establishes four factors that courts must consider in determining whether a particular use qualifies as a fair use. These factors are (1) the purpose and character of the use; (2) the nature of the copyrighted work; (3) the amount and substantiality of the portion used in relation to the copyrighted work as a whole; and (4) the effect of the use on the potential market for or value of the copyrighted work.⁵ Courts will apply each factor in a particular case, decide whether each favors finding fair use and then weigh, overall, whether the unauthorized use is a fair use. If the unauthorized use is for non-profit educational purposes rather than a commercial purpose, the first factor will weigh in favor of fair use. If the work is creative rather than informational, the second factor will weigh against finding a fair use; this is rarely an issue in cases involving the use of visual works in other works because the visual works are highly creative. If the amount used is not excessive and doesn't take the heart of the

⁴ Melville Nimmer & David Nimmer, 3 NIMMER ON COPYRIGHT sec. 13.03[A] at 13-29 (1995).

⁵ 17 U.S.C.A. sec. 107 (West 1996).

original work, the third factor will favor finding a fair use. Finally, if the use doesn't harm the value of or potential markets for the original, then the fourth factor will weigh in favor of fair use.

By no means a comprehensive explanation, this brief discussion of U.S. copyright law focused on aspects of particular importance to the topic of this paper. An awareness of the purpose and rights protected by the copyright law and the fair use exception assist in understanding the details of the resolutions of conflicts discussed later in the paper and in the literature review, which follows.

III. Literature Review

Recent scholarly articles on copyright law are plentiful, but relatively little research focusing on visual communication issues is available. For example, no articles about the use of visual works in movies, television or print media were found. However, the case of *Rogers v. Koons*,⁶ addressing the use of photographs in pop art, sparked several articles in law journals. Other articles have examined the state of copyright law in relation to computers and the link between copyright and commerce. This literature review will first examine the *Koons* articles and then look at other recent and relevant discussions concerning copyright.

Marlin H. Smith, in one of the articles about *Koons*, finds fault with the ruling by a federal appeals court that found no fair use for an art exhibit called "Banality Show."⁷ Discussed in detail later in this paper, the dispute centered on Jeffrey Koons' use of a photograph, without the knowledge or consent of the photographer, to create a sculpture called "String of Puppies." Koons suggested that his work was one of parody, but the court rejected this argument. Smith writes that the ruling "represents a misunderstanding of the purpose and scope of copyright as a form of property law."⁸ Smith contends that Koons had a First Amendment right to use the photograph to create new works for parodic purposes. "A prohibition of parody in the name of copyright is thus tantamount to a content-based restriction on

⁶ 960 F.2d 301 (2d Cir. 1992), *cert denied*, 113 S.Ct. 365 (1992).

⁷ Marlin H. Smith, *The Limits of Copyright: Property, Parody and the Public Domain*, 42 DUKE L.J. 1233 (1993).

⁸ *Id.*

speech," he writes. "Courts must analyze such restrictions with a heightened scrutiny not present in *Koons*."⁹ Smith points out that the court never looked at the actual sculpture, instead examining a small photograph of it.¹⁰ He calls for wider protection of parodic works from copyright infringement claims.

Robert A. French shares many of Smith's thoughts in another article inspired by the *Koons* case.¹¹ His article traces the development of different types of 20th century artwork and how they increasingly draw from previous works, a technique he supports: "The appropriation of images has played an important role in the development of modern and postmodern art."¹² French sees a need for a balance between "the rights of image makers while still accommodating the legitimate practices and demands of the modern artist."¹³ He says the problem lies in the reasoning of the courts, not copyright law itself, which he describes as "sufficiently flexible."¹⁴

In another *Koons* article, Steven Shonack writes that the nature of postmodern art lies inherently in opposition to copyright regulation.¹⁵ "Postmodernism, by placing the idea above the expression, collides with both common law and statutory constructions of copyright law," he says.¹⁶ Shonack also suggests that Koons' stated interest in making money through his art may have hurt his case: "The decisions can be seen more as a condemnation of Jeff Koons' philosophy than a blanket rejection of non-commercial art."¹⁷ Shonack himself seems to have similar reservations about Koons, but he warns that the decisions "have created a dangerous precedent that may erode artistic freedom."¹⁸

Using the *Koons* case as an example, Lynne A. Greenberg contends that a separate legal instrument is needed to measure the copyright protection for visual works as opposed to musical or

⁹ *Id.* at 1248.

¹⁰ *Id.* at 1252.

¹¹ Robert A. French, *Copyright: Rogers v. Koons: Artistic Appropriation and the Fair Use Defense*, 46 OKLA. L. REV. 175 (1993).

¹² *Id.* at 203.

¹³ *Id.* at 195.

¹⁴ *Id.* at 203.

¹⁵ Steven Shonack, *Postmodern Piracy: How Copyright Law Constrains Contemporary Art*, 14 LOY. L.A. ENT. L.J. 281 (1994).

¹⁶ *Id.* at 294.

¹⁷ *Id.* at 310.

¹⁸ *Id.* at 328.

literary works.¹⁹ She views the appeals court that decided the *Koons* case acting inappropriately as an art critic in its rejection of the artist's contention that his work was a withering parody of modern life. "It is not the proper role of the court to be making pronouncements about what does and does not constitute proper criticism in the realm of visual arts," she writes. "By refusing to recognize the critical nature of the work, the court emphasizes its unsuitability to act as an art critic."²⁰ Greenberg admits, however, that the "outcome of the case may be correct under current copyright doctrine."²¹ She worries that this outcome "ultimately acts to chill rather than to foster creative expression, the very antithesis of the economic incentives at the heart of copyright law."²²

In a contrasting viewpoint, William E. Patry approves of the outcome of the *Koons* case.²³ He supports the decision that Koons' work was not a constitutionally protected parody. The federal appeals court, Patry says, "appropriately made a judgment that regardless of the aesthetic value of [Koons'] work, for copyright purposes, he has not made a parody or fair use."²⁴ According to Patry, "a work can be 'great art' and still be infringing."²⁵

Another scholar takes a similarly restrictive view. Richard Posner, a federal appeals court judge, does not specifically mention the *Koons* case in his article, instead looking at the general issue of parody and copyright.²⁶ He argues that the parody protection should only extend to those artists who use elements of another work to lampoon just that work and nothing else. Under his rubric, parodists who use material to mock something other than the works they quote would receive no free-expression protection under the fair use exception. According to Posner, the would-be parodist must be very careful in taking just enough of the previous work to make his point; any more constitutes theft. "As we do not suppose that writers should be allowed to steal paper and pencils in order to reduce the cost of satire, neither is

¹⁹ Lynne A. Greenberg, *The Art of Appropriation: Puppies, Piracy and Post-Modernism*, 11 CARDOZO ARTS & ENT. L.J. 1 (1992).

²⁰ *Id.* at 29.

²¹ *Id.* at 32.

²² *Id.* at 33.

²³ William F. Patry, *THE FAIR USE PRIVILEGE IN COPYRIGHT* 193 (2d ed. 1995).

²⁴ *Id.* at 194.

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ Richard A. Posner, *When Is Parody Fair Use?*, 21 J. OF LEGAL STUD. 67 (1992).

there a compelling reason to subsidize social criticism by allowing writers to use copyrighted materials without compensating the copyright holder," he says.²⁷

In an article focusing on the copyright ramifications of the art of collage, Sonya del Peral supports artists who combine previous works into ones of their own.²⁸ "As an economic incentive to authors, copyright operates as a means to the accomplishment of a greater purpose. Because the public will ultimately benefit from the availability of their work, collagists like other artists deserve this incentive to create," she writes.²⁹ Del Peral believes that a collage, even one consisting entirely of previously created works, is in itself a new work that is "distinctly different" and deserving of First Amendment protection.³⁰ She encourages the courts to protect "works that contain broad social or political commentary which have intrinsic value beyond the artistic aesthetic."³¹

Jeanne English Sullivan examines copyright issues in a broader and more philosophical framework.³² Sullivan predicts a rise in copyright conflicts as artists become more assertive in protecting their works while at the same time computers and other technologies become more powerful. "The application of copyright laws is problematic, and any problems will be magnified in the digital age when reproduction, alteration and publication of all arts will be accelerated and commonplace," she writes.³³ Copyright law, she suggests, is in danger of becoming outdated: "Not all of contemporary art fits neatly into the copyright scheme."³⁴ While generally calling for greater latitude in the use of previous works to create new ones, she calls for "careful scrutiny" of legislative efforts to reform copyright law.³⁵

In an exhaustive historical review, communications professor Ronald V. Bettig traces the evolution of copyright law from ancient Greece and Rome to present-day America.³⁶ He draws a

²⁷ *Id.* at 73.

²⁸ Sonya del Peral, *Using Copyrighted Visual Works in Collage: A Fair Use Analysis*, 54 ALB. L. REV. 141 (1990).

²⁹ *Id.* at 146.

³⁰ *Id.* at 157.

³¹ *Id.* at 169.

³² Jeanne English Sullivan, *Copyright for Visual Art in the Digital Age: A Modern Adventure in Wonderland*, 14 CARDOZO ARTS & ENT. L.J. 563 (1996).

³³ *Id.* at 566.

³⁴ *Id.* at 573.

³⁵ *Id.* at 622.

³⁶ Ronald V. Bettig, *Critical Perspectives on the History and Philosophy of Copyright*, 9 CRITICAL STUDIES IN MASS COMM. 131 (1992).

relationship between the rise of capitalistic societies and the codification of copyright laws. He notes that copyright protection in the early history of the United States belonged to the publisher of a work, not its author.³⁷ Bettig argues that copyright law, although altered significantly since that time, continues to work in the same way. "Much of the value of the major media companies lies in their copyrights and trademarks, not in buildings and equipment," he writes.³⁸ The result of copyright law, in his view, is the "reduction of access and voices" in the marketplace of ideas.³⁹

In sum, an array of scholarly work on copyright and visual communication exists, though none of it encompasses the range of conflicts studied in this paper. Much of the existing research springs from the problems of postmodern art, as illustrated by reaction to the *Koons* case. Some authors argue that artists should be allowed greater freedom in using previously created material to create their own artwork. These writers see a First Amendment value to such works, citing their value as commentary and criticism. However, these writers disagree on whether existing copyright law is sufficient to address this issue. Others scholars claim that such use of works is unfair to the copyright holder and support a narrow interpretation of what can and cannot be used. Adding to and expanding on this existing scholarly discussion, this paper now analyzes the various conflicts that have arisen during the 1990s involving the use of visual works in other works.

IV. Conflicts in the 1990s

During the 1990s, legal conflicts have emerged over the use of copyrighted visual works within three categories of media: motion pictures (including movies and television), print media and "pop art." As noted in the introduction, all of these conflicts resulted in the filing of copyright infringement lawsuits, but the resolutions vary. For each of the three categories of media, this section describes and analyzes the conflicts.

³⁷ *Id.* at 147.

³⁸ *Id.* at 151.

³⁹ *Id.* at 152.

Motion pictures

Of the three categories, the motion pictures category has seen the greatest and most recent activity during the time period studied. Within just the past three years, production companies have been involved in five disputes over the use of visual works in a movie or television show. Artists alleged unauthorized uses of a graphite pencil drawing, a mixed media "story quilt," a religious bas-relief, unpublished photographs and a large outdoor artwork. Authors of visual works won or settled three of the disputes and lost one; a fifth dispute has not been resolved.

Universal City Studios' futuristic movie "12 Monkeys" includes four interrogation scenes in which the main character, played by Bruce Willis, sits in a fantastical chair that is attached to wall along a vertical rail. After the actor sits in the chair, the chair slides up the wall on the rail so that Willis is above the ground. In these scenes, a sphere descends from above and stops in front of Willis. The faces of the interrogators appear on the sphere.

Shortly after "12 Monkeys" was released in December 1995, two colleagues of artist Lebbeus Woods told Woods that they believed the film used one of his works. Woods saw the film in the following month and determined that the chair and sphere were based on his graphite pencil drawing titled "Neomechanical Tower (Upper) Chamber." Completed in 1987 and published in a catalog and a collection of his illustrations, the drawing depicted a room with a high ceiling with a chair mounted on a wall and a sphere suspended in front of the chair. In *Woods v. Universal City Studios, Inc.*, Woods sought a court order to stop distribution of "12 Monkeys" to resolve the copyright dispute.⁴⁰

In a brief opinion granting the order, the court said it was clear that Universal had copied the drawing. The film's director, Terry Gilliam, admitted that while working on the design of the film, he had looked at a book that included Woods' drawing, the court said. In addition, Gilliam said that he, the producer and the production designer all had discussed the drawing, the court noted.⁴¹

Even without the direct evidence of Gilliam's admissions, the court said that copying was clear because of the striking similarity between images in the movie's interrogation scene and Woods'

⁴⁰ *Woods v. Universal City Studios, Inc.*, 920 F. Supp. 62,63-64 (S.D.N.Y. 1996).

⁴¹ *Id.* at 64.

drawing. The court listed many elements identical in both. For instance, in both the movie and the drawing, the chairs "are comprised of four rectangular planes and have arm-rests with diagonal supports comprised of two parallel strips separated by a narrow space," and the spheres are "suspended in front of the chair from a metal framework and have a similar surface design."⁴²

The court noted that Universal rightly did not argue that its use of the drawing was a fair use because "12 Monkeys" is a commercial, science-fiction movie not made for the purposes of criticism, commentary, news reporting, teaching or research. The court refused to accept Universal's claim that the use was *de minimus* – that is, so insignificant that the law should not concern itself with it – because Woods' design appeared in only five minutes of a movie lasting 130 minutes. Whether a use is *de minimus* depends on how much of the *original* work was taken, not on how much of the *infringing* work the use comprises, the federal judge said. In this case, the court concluded, the film took a substantial amount of Woods' drawing.

Universal complained that it would suffer serious financial harm from a court order stopping distribution of "12 Monkeys." In granting the court order, the judge chided the studio: "Copyright infringement can be expensive. The Copyright Law does not condone a practice of 'infringe now, pay later.'"⁴³ Subsequent to the court's opinion, the case was settled by the parties, and the film continued distribution after the offending scenes were cut.⁴⁴

In 1997, a federal appeals court decided a case presenting in which the producers of the television program "ROC" used a poster of a story quilt by artist Faith Ringgold to decorate a set. Ringgold's story quilts are mixed media works combining silk-screened painting, handwritten text and quilting fabric. The poster showed the artist's quilt titled "Church Picnic Story Quilt," which depicts a Sunday school picnic in Atlanta in 1909 and relates the thoughts of a parishioner who attended the picnic. The poster hung on the wall in a scene in a church hall in "ROC," a situation comedy about a middle-class African-American family in Baltimore. In the five-minute scene, viewers could see at least

⁴² *Id.* at 64-65.

⁴³ *Id.* at 65

⁴⁴ Michael I. Rudell, *Copyright Infringement: Grounds to Enjoin Film Distribution*, N.Y.L.J., May 24, 1996, at 3; Brooke A. Masters, *Va. Judge Tells Filmmaker to Settle Suit or Halt Video*, WASH. POST, Feb. 11, 1998, at B2.

a part of the poster in nine separate sequences for a total screen time of 26.75 seconds. In the longest sequence, about 80 percent of the poster is visible in soft focus for four to five seconds.⁴⁵

As copyright owner of the "Church Picnic Story Quilt," Ringgold sued Black Entertainment Television, the cable channel on which she viewed the "ROC" episode at issue, and Home Box Office, which produced the episode. In 1996, a federal trial judge ruled in favor of BET and HBO, which had argued that the use of Ringgold's poster was a fair use.⁴⁶ However, in September 1997, a federal appeals court reversed that judgment, finding that the unauthorized use was neither a trifling use nor a fair use.

As Universal Studios had claimed in the *Woods* case, BET and HBO claimed that the use of the story quilt was *de minimus*. The federal appeals court disagreed with the media companies. It cited a rule established by the Librarian of Congress as a useful "analogy" on the issue of whether the use was *de minimus*. The rule, which helped to determine the amount of royalties to be paid by public broadcasters for the use of visual works, distinguished between "featured" uses and "background" uses. Featured uses are full screen or substantially full-screen displays lasting more than three seconds. Background uses are any displays that take up less than the full screen or substantially full screen or full-screen displays lasting three seconds or less. Both featured and background uses warranted payment of royalties, with featured uses requiring greater fees, according to the court's summary of the rule. The court emphasized that under the Librarian's rule, even background uses of visual works require the payment of a license fee by public broadcasters. It concluded that had Ringgold's quilt been shown on public television, she would have been entitled to royalties for a background use of her work. Therefore, quantitatively, the use of the quilt in the television show was not *de minimus*, the federal appeals court said. The four- to five-second segment showing most of the poster, supplemented by shorter segments showing smaller portions of the poster was not insignificant.⁴⁷

Nor was the use of Ringgold's work qualitatively insignificant, according to the court. Viewers could see the quilt in sufficient detail to recognize painted representations of African-Americans in the

⁴⁵ Ringgold v. Black Entertainment Television, Inc., 126 F.3d 70, 72-73, 76 (2d Cir. 1997).

⁴⁶ Ringgold v. Black Entertainment Television, Inc., 1996 WL 535547 (S.D.N.Y. 1996).

⁴⁷ *Id.* at 77.

artist's colorful style, the court found. "In some circumstances, a visual work, though selected by production staff for thematic relevance, or at least for its decorative value, might ultimately be filmed at such as distance and so out of focus that a typical program viewer would not discern any decorative effect that the work of art contributes to the set. But that is not this case," the court explained.⁴⁸

On the question of fair use, the court's discussion of two factors appeared to be most important to the outcome. First, the purpose of the use of the quilt in the show's set was "not remotely similar to any of the listed categories" of fair use, such as commentary, news and education, the appeals court said.⁴⁹ The court observed that just as people know that they must pay for artwork to decorate their homes, "producers of plays, films and television programs should generally expect to pay a license fee when they conclude that a particular work of copyrighted art is an appropriate component of the decoration of a set."⁵⁰ In addition, if Ringgold could prove that there was a market for licensing her works as set decoration, she would be able to show that the unauthorized use in "ROC" damaged a potential market for her original, the court said.⁵¹ Ultimately, the federal appeals court sent the case back to the federal trial court for reconsideration of Ringgold's claims.⁵² No decision or settlement has been reported.

Earlier this year, a copyright infringement lawsuit was settled after a federal judge encouraged the parties to settle. The judge indicated that Warner Bros. would very likely lose the case if it went to trial and that he would bar the video release of Warner's film until the conclusion of the trial. Released in 1997, Warner's film "The Devil's Advocate" depicted in one scene a bas-relief based on a religious sculpture created by Frederick Hart for the Washington National Cathedral. In the scene, figures in the sculpture, which decorates the devil's apartment, come to life through computer animation and engage in sexual acts. The work appears on screen for a total of about 20 minutes, according to Warner's lawyer. Like some of other artists discussed above, Hart learned of the unauthorized use of his work from a

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ *Id.* at 79.

⁵⁰ *Id.* at 80.

⁵¹ *Id.* at 81.

⁵² *Id.* at 82.

friend who had seen the movie. Hart and the cathedral sued Warner, seeking to have all copies of the film destroyed and to stop the video release of the film because the use distorts the religious sculpture, titled "Ex Nihilo," and injures the market for his work.⁵³

In an unpublished decision, a federal judge said Hart and the cathedral would be able to show that the work in the film and Hart's bas-relief were substantially similar. He also said there was evidence that the sale of Hart's work to collectors has been negatively affected by the unauthorized use. However, the judge said he was not sympathetic to the request to destroy copies of the film; he urged the plaintiffs to consider asking for other remedies, such as a monetary award and editing the image of the sculpture in the film to reduce its resemblance to Hart's work. Even before the judge's decision, Warner had placed a disclaimer on videotapes of the film stating that the sculpture in the film is not intended to resemble any specific existing works of art.⁵⁴ A few days after the judge's ruling, the parties settled after Warner agreed to cut several shots from the film. The settlement permitted Warner to distribute the film for video rental without any editing but requires the excisions before the film is released for sale on video.⁵⁵

Last year, the creator of a visual work lost his case against a movie production company. photographer Jorge Sandoval sued New Line Cinema for using several of his photographs in the background of a scene in "Seven," a thriller about a serial killer starring Morgan Freeman and Brad Pitt. In the scene, two detectives enter the killer's apartment, which is decorated to evoke the sociopath's deranged mental state. A light box is visible in the background of the scene, and a detective turns it on. A number of black and white images hang on the light box, which viewers see in about 10 camera shots, ranging from one to six seconds long, for a total screen time of about 30 seconds. In most of the shots, viewers cannot see the images on the light box clearly because the view is obstructed by other objects in the scene, because the camera never concentrates exclusively on the images and because the images are out of focus in the background.

⁵³ Brooke A. Masters, *supra* note 44; Brooke A. Masters, *Sculptor, Cathedral Sue Over Movie's Art*, WASH. POST, Dec. 6, 1997, at B1; James Reston Jr., *Inspired Art or Stolen Art?* N.Y. TIMES, Feb. 11, 1998, at A29.

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ Tribune News Services, *Sculptor Wins a Round with "Devil" Film Deal*, CHI. TRIB., Feb. 18, 1998, at 2.

After repeatedly viewing the movie in theaters and examining enlarged still frames from the scene, Sandoval determined that 10 of the images on the light box were his unpublished self-portraits and sued New Line for copyright infringement. The production company claimed that its use of Sandoval's photos was a fair use, and the federal trial court agreed.⁵⁶

First, the court concluded that although the purpose of the use of the photos was to create a commercial film, the use was "transformative" because it reinterpreted the original works. In other words, New Line "used the visual images created in plaintiff's work in furtherance of the creation of a distinct overall mood for the moviegoer watching the scene in the killer's apartment."⁵⁷ The court noted that New Line did not use the photos to promote the film or try to exploit the market for Sandoval's photos.

It was important to the court's decision that Sandoval's photos were not clearly or easily identifiable in the scene. The "fleeting and obscured use of plaintiff's work did not and cannot capture the essence or value of the plaintiff's work," the court explained.⁵⁸ In addition, the court said New Line's unauthorized use did not harm the potential market for the photos because "the public is not even aware after viewing 'Seven' that they have had a glimpse of Sandoval's work."⁵⁹ In early July 1998, a federal appeals court backed the lower court, finding that Sandoval must show that the use was more than minimal before he can proceed with any "fair use" claim.⁶⁰

A fifth conflict involving a motion picture production company has yet to be resolved. It focuses on the use of a outdoor artwork in the 1995 Warner Bros. film "Batman Forever." In 1992, artist Andrew Leicester completed "Zanja Madre," a \$2 million environmental art complex outside a downtown Los Angeles tower. "Zanja Madra," which is the Spanish name (meaning "Mother Ditch") for the main channel of the Los Angeles River, includes several water works and miniature skyscrapers and was intended as an "allegorical garden of calm and tranquility," according to Leicester.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Sandoval v. New Line Cinema Corp., 973 F. Supp. 409, 410-11 (S.D.N.Y. 1997).

⁵⁷ *Id.* at 413.

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *Id.* at 414.

⁶⁰ 1998 U.S. App. LEXIS 13466 (2d Cir. 1998).

⁶¹ Scott Carlson, *Artist Sues Warner Bros. Over "Batman Forever,"* TAMPA TRIB., June 22, 1995, at 6.

Leicester's friends alerted him to Warner's use of his artwork, which they had observed in a magazine feature about the "Batman Forever" set design. The artist alleged that by incorporating his design into a set, Warner sullied the artwork by using it in an "openly lurid, frenetic and violent Gotham City" and harmed his ability to sell his artworks.⁶² According to news reports on the dispute, Warner acknowledged copying Leicester's work but claimed that it received permission from the owner of the tower to use the work.⁶³ Although the owner of the tower possesses the artwork, Leicester owns the copyright to the artwork because he was its author and did not transfer his copyright ownership, the artist's lawyer has pointed out. Leicester sued Warner for copyright infringement and sought unspecified monetary damages, though his lawyer said the artist might be entitled to as much as \$50 million to \$500 million, depending on how many times the artwork has been reproduced.⁶⁴ According to a news report published in December 1997, the case, filed three years ago, was still pending.⁶⁵

The resolutions of these five copyright conflicts strongly suggest that it is dangerous for production companies to incorporate copyrighted visual works in commercial films without permission, particularly if the use of the visual work is prominent. The use of a visual work in a few minutes of a film or television show is not a negligible use. Given the outcomes in the cases involving "12 Monkeys," "ROC" and "The Devil's Advocate," it is likely that Andrew Leicester ultimately will prevail in his long-running fight against Warner's use of his outdoor sculpture. On the other hand, entertainment production companies might be safe in using visual works that are barely perceptible in the background of a scene. Although some might argue that the value of such subtle set decoration is questionable, others might find that such minimal use is all that's needed to evoke a mood or represent a character.

Print media

During the 1990s, three legal conflicts involving the use of visual works in print media have arisen, and all three were resolved in courts. The first of these disputes, decided in *Wojnarowicz v.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ Chris Riemenschneider, *Holy Lawsuit, Batman!* L.A. TIMES, June 26, 1995, at F1.

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ Amy Wallace, *Lights! Cameras! Lawyers?* L.A. TIMES, Dec. 10, 1997, at A1.

American Family Ass'n, centers on the use of an artist's works in a pamphlet published by the American Family Association. Founded by Donald Wildmon, the American Family Association is a conservative, non-profit group seeking to promote decency and the Judeo-Christian ethic in American society. The AFA pamphlet encouraged people to demand that Congress stop public funding of offensive artworks by the National Endowment of Arts. David Wojnarowicz is a multimedia artist whose works often focus on the devastating impact of the AIDS epidemic on the homosexual community, and he had earned a modest living from the sale of his works.⁶⁶

In 1990, with a grant from the NEA, a gallery at Illinois State University exhibited a comprehensive show of Wojnarowicz's works and published a catalog containing reproductions of more than 60 of his works. The catalog found its way into Wildmon's hands and became a target of the AFA pamphlet. The pamphlet was titled "Your Tax Dollars Paid for These 'Works of Art'" and included 14 fragments of Wojnarowicz's works chosen because Wildmon believed them to be highly offensive to the general public. The 14 fragments depicted explicitly sexual acts, Jesus Christ with a hypodermic needle, an African purification ritual and two men dancing together. Copies of the pamphlet were mailed to members of Congress, Christian leaders, Christian radio stations and newspapers in envelopes warning "Caution - Contains Extremely Offensive Material."⁶⁷

Wojnarowicz sued AFA on several grounds, including copyright infringement.⁶⁸ As the registered copyright owner of his works, he claimed that AFA violated his right to control the reproductions of his works by using them without consent in the pamphlet. He also argued that the organization violated his right to control derivative works made from his artworks through AFA's presentation of edited and cropped versions of his works. On the other hand, AFA contended that its use of the portions of the artworks constituted fair use, and the federal district court agreed with the group.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ *Wojnarowicz v. American Family Ass'n*, 745 F. Supp. 130, 133-34 (S.D.N.Y. 1990).

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ Wojnarowicz also sued for defamation, unfair competition and violation of the New York Artists' Authorship Act, which provides fine artists with moral rights in their works. *Id.* at 132-33.

⁶⁹ *Id.* at 142-43.

The court emphasized that criticism and comment were purposes explicitly recognized by the fair use provision of the U.S. Copyright Act. "No one disputes that this was defendants' dominant purpose" – to provide political commentary on public funding of the arts – even though a secondary purpose was to raise funds for AFA, the court said.⁷⁰

The amount and substantiality of the original taken also favored the finding of fair use, according to the court. With the exception of one photograph reproduced in full, the pamphlet used small portions of the artworks – between 1.18 percent and 16.63 percent of the original sizes. This was a minimal amount of copying, and the artist himself acknowledged that AFA did not use the heart of his works, the court said. In addition, the court believed there could be no harm to the market for Wojnarowicz's works from the use in AFA's pamphlet. "[E]xcerpting a work for criticism and comment does not produce a work in competition with the copyrighted work, the infringing work does not supplant the original work and does not implicate the concerns of the Copyright Act," the judge wrote.⁷¹ Finally, the court said the fact that Wojnarowicz had accepted public funds to support his work was an important additional fair use consideration. A First Amendment interest in freedom to comment on political issues strengthened the determination that AFA's use was a fair use, the judge concluded.⁷²

In a \$1.4 million copyright infringement lawsuit settled in 1994, a stock photography agency sued Newsday for unauthorized use of two color photos. The lawsuit alleged that Newsday graphic artists had digitally scanned two photos from the FPG International catalog, altered the photos using a computer and added other digitized images to create a front-page illustration in 1993. The FPG photos depicted two clock-faced business people running through a futuristic desert landscape. In the settlement, Newsday agreed to pay FPG a \$20,000 licensing fee, which was reported to be 10 times what the licenses would have cost up front, and part of the agency's legal fees. The newspaper also agreed to publish a

⁷⁰ *Id.* at 143-44.

⁷¹ *Id.* at 145.

⁷² *Id.* at 146.

statement giving proper credit for the images. Another photographer, whose photo Newsday also used in the montage, settled separately with the newspaper for \$15,500.⁷³

The mass media also lost in a case involving the use of images in a humor book commenting on the O.J. Simpson trial. On one side of this dispute was Dr. Seuss Enterprises, the owner of most of the copyrights to the works of Theodor Geisel, the well-known children's book author and illustrator. On the other side were Penguin Books USA and Dove Audio, Inc., the publisher and distributor of a book titled "The Cat NOT in the Hat! A Parody by Dr. Juice." Dr. Seuss sued Penguin and Dove, alleging the "Dr. Juice" book copied his copyrighted illustration from "The Cat in the Hat." A federal district court ruled in favor of Dr. Seuss and granted a court order stopping further printing and distribution of "Dr. Juice."⁷⁴ Penguin and Dove appealed the decision.

In March 1997, a federal appeals court upheld the lower court's decision. The image of O.J. Simpson wearing the famous slouching stove-pipe hat on the back cover of "Dr. Juice" was substantially similar to Dr. Seuss' Cat, the appeals court said. The two illustrations shared several details in addition to the distinctive hat: For example, both O.J. and the Cat have long necks, narrow shoulders, upraised eyebrows and clasped hands resting on their rounded stomachs. Thus, the court said it was clear that "Dr. Juice" copied "The Cat in the Hat." "Dr. Juice" copied the distinctive element of the Cat's Hat not only on the back cover but also on its front cover and within the text of the book, the court said.

As the lower court had done, the federal appeals court rejected Penguin and Dove's claim that the use of the illustrations qualified as fair use for purposes of parody. The court cited the U.S. Supreme Court's distinction between parody and satire: In parody, the copyrighted work is the target of the commentary, whereas in satire the copyrighted work is "merely a vehicle to poke fun at another target."⁷⁵ Although "Dr. Juice" imitates "Dr. Seuss' characteristic style, it does not hold his style up to ridicule."

⁷³ *Photo Suit Settled*, NAT'L L.J., Jan. 16, 1995, at A10; *Photo Agency Sues over Newspaper Use*, NAT'L L.J., March 7, 1994, at 6; *Newsday Settles Lawsuit for Digitally Scanned Image*, COMPUTER LAW., Dec. 1994, at 21; Fred Greguras et al., *Multimedia and the Superhighway*, COMPUTER LAW., at 12; *Scan Job: Newsday Pays up for Printing Altered Photo*, INFO. L. ALERT, Nov. 30, 1994.

⁷⁴ *Dr. Seuss Enterprises v. Penguin Books USA, Inc.*, 924 F. Supp. 1559, 1561 (S.D. Cal. 1996).

⁷⁵ *Dr. Seuss Enterprises v. Penguin Books USA, Inc.*, 109 F.3d 1394, 1400 (9th Cir. 1997), discussing *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc.*, 510 U.S. 569, 580 (1994).

the court wrote.⁷⁶ In other words, "Dr. Juice" was not a parody of Dr. Seuss' books, themes or styles; rather, "Dr. Juice" was a parody or satire of the O.J. Simpson trial. In addition, "Dr. Juice" took the central character illustration from "The Cat in the Hat," which weighed heavily against a finding of fair use, the court said. "We have no doubt that the Cat's image is the highly expressive core of Dr. Seuss' work."⁷⁷

The resolutions of these three conflicts involving the use of visual works in print media lead to some important, though tentative, conclusions. First, although visual artists might prefer that certain people or certain organizations not use their works in commentary or criticism, the fair use defense strongly protects such uses. Another observation is that visual artists also must be prepared to permit uses of their works in genuine parodies targeting their works. However, unauthorized uses for the purposes of satire are unlikely to be fair use. A third lesson is that news media, though engaged in providing news, must pay to use visual works for creating illustrations. The use of a visual work for the purpose of reporting or commentary on the work or its creator would qualify as fair use, however.

Pop Art

In this decade, courts have heard three cases concerning the use of visual works in artwork. All three cases stem from an exhibit by artist Jeffrey Koons of New York City. Koons works in the genre known as "pop art," which was made famous by Andy Warhol and his series of paintings of everyday objects such as soup cans.⁷⁸ In November 1988, Sonnabend Gallery in New York presented an exhibit of Koons' work called "Banality Show." Koons himself did not craft the 20 sculptures that made up the show, instead coming up with ideas for them and then closely directing European artisans in the creation of the works. Of the 20 sculptures, three would send Koons and the gallery displaying "Banality Show" to court in copyright disputes.

⁷⁶ *Id.* at 1401.

⁷⁷ *Id.* at 1402.

⁷⁸ BULLFINCH GUIDE TO ART HISTORY 717 (Shearer West ed., 1996).

The first and most important case, *Rogers v. Koons*, focused on a wooden sculpture called "String of Puppies."⁷⁹ The work's origins can be traced to 1980 when photographer Art Rogers took a picture of a California couple holding eight German Shepherd puppies posed in a row in between the couple. Rogers' black-and-white photograph, called simply "Puppies," appeared in a newspaper and later in a compilation called "Dog Days." In the mid-1980s, Rogers also licensed its use to Museum Graphics, which used it to produce a notecard. In 1986, Koons purchased one of the notecards with the "Puppies" photograph in what he called a "very commercial, tourist-like card shop."⁸⁰ Koons sent the notecard to a studio in northern Italy and told the artisans there to take the photograph and craft four identical sculptures, emphasizing that they should resemble "Puppies" as closely as possible. One of the resulting sculptures, called "String of Puppies," appeared at the Sonnabend Gallery as part of "Banality Show" in late 1988. Rogers became aware of "String of Puppies" when the Los Angeles Times published a photograph of the sculpture in 1989. Rogers then filed a lawsuit, alleging copyright infringement.

A federal district court ruled resoundingly against Koons,⁸¹ who appealed. The Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit backed the lower court's decision, handing Rogers a significant victory. Acknowledging that he had used Rogers' photo, Koons argued that he was within the realm of fair use because "String of Puppies" was a parody of over-commercialized contemporary society.⁸² This line of reasoning, however, failed to move the appeals court, which said a parody may "conjure up" another work, but in doing so must lampoon that work. "The problem . . . is that given that 'String of Puppies' is a satirical critique of our materialistic society, it is difficult to discern any parody of the photograph 'Puppies' itself," the court said. "The circumstances of this case indicate that Koons' copying of the photograph 'Puppies' was done in bad faith, primarily for profit-making motives, and did not constitute a parody of the original work."⁸³

⁷⁹ 960 F.2d 301 (2d Cir. 1992).

⁸⁰ *Id.* at 305.

⁸¹ 751 F. Supp. 474 (S.D.N.Y. 1990).

⁸² 960 F.2d at 309.

⁸³ *Id.* at 311.

Regarding the amount and substantiality of the work used, the court found that Koons had used "much more than would have been necessary even if the sculpture had been a parody of plaintiff's work."⁸⁴ The court took note of Koons' explicit instructions to his Italian artisans to copy the photography as closely as possible, finding that "it is not really the parody flag that appellants are sailing under, but rather the flag of piracy."⁸⁵ The court also found that Koons' work was "primarily commercial in nature" and therefore threatened the marketability of Rogers' photograph and works derived from it such as notecards and the like. "Here there is simply nothing in the record to support a view that Koons produced 'String of Puppies' for anything other than sale as high-priced art," the court said.⁸⁶

In the wake of the *Rogers* decision, Koons faced additional legal action over other works included in "Banality Show." In *United Feature Syndicate v. Koons*, the artist was accused of copyright infringement over his use of a drawing from the "Garfield" comic strip.⁸⁷ "Wild Boy and Puppy," a sculpture in "Banality Show," consisted of renderings of a dog, a stuffed doll and a butterfly. United Feature Syndicate, which owns the copyright of the "Garfield" strip, objected to the dog image, which it said was an unauthorized copy of the dog character known as Odie, a comedic foil for the comic strip's primary character, a cat. As in the *Rogers* case, Koons acknowledged using the Odie character to create his sculpture, but again he argued that the use was permissible as parody of Odie and society. Koons also asserted that the Odie image had moved beyond the comic strip and into U.S. popular culture as a whole and was, therefore, open to use in other works. Furthermore, he argued that combining the Odie image with two other images made the sculpture distinct from the comic strip character.

Using the *Rogers* decision as "a helpful framework," the district court ruled against Koons.⁸⁸ The court rejected the idea that merging the Odie image with two others made the work unique. "The addition of the other two images does not, in any way, affect the ability of a lay observer to recognize 'Puppy' as 'Odie,'" the court said.⁸⁹ Koons was also rebuked in his claim that the Odie character existed in the

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ *Id.*

⁸⁶ *Id.* at 312. Three of the four "String of Puppies" sculptures were sold for a total of \$367,000.

⁸⁷ 817 F. Supp. 370 (S.D.N.Y. 1993).

⁸⁸ *Id.* at 376.

⁸⁹ *Id.* at 378.

popular culture apart from the copyrighted comic strip: "The popularity and commercial success of the Garfield characters cannot transform them into the 'factual' realm any more than Mickey Mouse, Snoopy, Superman or Bart Simpson could be said to have acquired a 'factual existence' which results in a loss of their copyright protection."⁹⁰

As the appeals court did in the *Rogers* case, the court in *United Features* denied Koons' claim that "Wild Boy and Puppy" was a legitimate fair use for purposes of parody. The court pointed to Koons' own admission that he could have used other canine images to express the same satirical viewpoint. Therefore, the court ruled that because Koons' work did not lampoon the Odie character, "there is no justification for the parody defense."⁹¹ The court also noted that even if Koons had created a parody of Odie, he had "appropriated virtually the entire Odie character, which was certainly much more than would have been necessary."⁹² As in *Rogers*, Koons' parody defense fell short, and his artwork was found not to be a fair use.

Just a week after the *United Features* decision, Koons faced another setback for yet another sculpture from "Banality Show."⁹³ The facts of the case are nearly identical to those of *Rogers*, as a photographer named Barbara Campbell accused Koons of using her photograph of a boy pushing a pig to create one of his "Banality" sculptures. In a short ruling, the district court closely followed the previous decisions regarding Koons' sculptures. The court also indicated that the artist "was well aware that he had to obtain permission to use copyrighted material" but had failed to do so.⁹⁴

The three *Koons* cases offer a number of guidelines. At the heart of the decisions is the reluctance of courts to grant artists wide discretion in using previously created visual works to create their own works. Such artists must be prepared to overcome significant legal hurdles. Because the courts in these cases drew a narrow view of what constitutes a parody for purposes of fair use, artists should be sure to target their parodic barbs correctly: A broad swipe at society or popular culture is much less

⁹⁰ *Id.* at 380.

⁹¹ *Id.* at 384.

⁹² *Id.* at 385.

⁹³ *Campbell v. Koons*, 1993 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 3957 (S.D.N.Y. 1993).

⁹⁴ *Id.*

likely to be permitted than a jab at the original work. Artists engaging in parody must also take pains to use just enough of a previous work to evoke it; the *Koons* courts viewed his technique of explicit and detailed copying with great suspicion.

V. Summary & Conclusions

The analysis of copyright disputes that have taken place during the 1990s over the use of visual works in other works prove instructive for visual artists, mass media and free expression scholars alike. For visual artists, these disputes have shown that even relatively obscure artists ought to be aware that their works, both unpublished and published, could be used by mass media or by other visual artists. Artists who are serious about making a living from their artwork and about protecting the integrity of their works should register their works with the U.S. Copyright Office so that they may assert their rights in potential infringement lawsuits. But visual artists also should understand that they may not prevail in disputes involving uses of their works that are scarcely detectable or that are for parody, criticism or commentary purposes. Courts are particularly likely to permit the use of an original work for commenting on a political issue as a fair use.

Pop artists seeking to lampoon the culture at large will have to pay a license fee to use the work of other visual artists to avoid violating copyright law. However, if the target of the pop artist's commentary is, specifically, another artist's work, then the use of the other artist's work might qualify as a fair use. One caveat for parodists creating pop art is that they should use no more of the original work than is necessary to conjure up the original. For example, a *true* parody of Dr. Seuss' "The Cat in the Hat" might be allowed to use the Cat's Hat but not copy many other distinctive characteristics of the Cat, such as his eyes or hands.

As one article discussed in the literature review suggested, visual artists appear to have become more knowledgeable and protective of the property rights in their works. It also appears, from analyzing the "Batman Forever" and "The Devil's Advocate" conflicts, that some visual artists sue at least partly because they do not want their works associated with the content of today's mass entertainment. Thus,

entertainment producers may avoid expensive lawsuits, delays in releases, messy disclaimers and unwanted editing by recognizing that some artists might be offended or angered by inclusion of their work in a commercial media product and seeking permission first.

Creators of entertainment media will be unlikely to make a successful claim of fair use when they use visual works in sets and backgrounds of movies or television programs. Courts do not view such uses by entertainment media as serving news, commentary, research or educational purposes. Therefore, entertainment media should be aware that there is an established market for licensing visual artists' work for use in films and programs, and that courts view unauthorized use as taking the fruits of artists' creativity without just compensation. They should pay visual artists upfront and not try the "infringe now, pay later" approach condemned by the judge in the *Woods* case. News media, too, would be wise to pay license fees to use copyrighted visual works to create illustrations to accompany news articles, though use of visual works for purposes of commentary or news reporting would likely be protected as fair use. If a visual work is incorporated into a movie, television show or illustration such that its presence is hardly perceptible by a viewer, then such a use might be considered so insignificant that copyright law will not protect against it. However, it is unclear where the boundaries of perceptibility lie.

Copyright protection that forces mass media to pay to use visual works in their media products does not harm freedom of expression. Copyright law does not prohibit entertainment producers, news media and book authors from publishing their ideas; it simply requires that these media respect the rights of other creators, giving due credit and monetary compensation.

Where copyright law has gone wrong in terms of free expression is in its application to pop art. By definition, pop art is intended as commentary and criticism of society. Although critics may disagree on the significance of the pop art movement, artists in this genre contribute to debate about contemporary culture. The strictures of copyright law prevent effective expression of the pop artist's ideas, a problem that courts have given short shrift. Besides, it seems unlikely that the value of works of the visual artists who sued Jeffrey Koons would suffer as a result of his uses. It also seems improbable that any market for three-dimensional, wooden versions of the photographs and drawings would dry up because of Koons' uses. Like more straightforward commentary and criticism, satires do not compete in the same economic

markets as the original works; the person who wants a stuffed Odie doll would not usually consider buying a work by Koons instead, and vice versa. Similarly, a parent who would have bought "The Cat in the Hat" for a child would not purchase the "Dr. Juice" version as a substitute for the original.

Freedom of expression would be better served if courts recognized the broad category of satire, and not just the narrow category of parody, as a type of fair use. Courts could still limit Koons and other satirists to using no more than necessary of the original works to effect their satires. In sum, just as creators of visual works must tolerate unauthorized uses of their works for news, research, educational and parody purposes, creators should also relinquish their rights to earn money or control satires based on their works. Society will be the richer without emptying the artist's pocket.

More conflicts are already appearing on the copyright horizon. The explosive growth of the Internet and the World Wide Web will undoubtedly lead toward more conflict in this area of law as high-tech self-publishers incorporate previously created visual works in the quest for the perfect "home page." Once again the issue of what is and what isn't a fair use will become a focal point, this time in yet a new medium. For example, a fan of the television program "King of the Hill" was recently forced by 20th Century Fox to remove audio clips of the character Boomhauer from a Web site.⁹⁵ Given the ease of duplicating audio and visual works with ever-powerful computer software, similar disputes seem inevitable. Like the problem of legislating indecency on the Internet, lawmakers and courts may find themselves in a struggle with the relationship between the Web, copyright and free expression.

⁹⁵ Noel Gross, "Yeah Man, Itellyawhat..." <http://www.cyberramp.net/~noel/rside/boom.html>. Curiously, Fox did not ask Gross to remove images of the Boomhauer character, only recordings of various sayings the character made on the program.

Afterthoughts on the representational strategies of the FSA documentary

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Abstract: This paper analyzed the truth strategies of documentary photography from the positivist, social constructivist, Marxist, and postmodernist perspectives in an attempt to find out what caused the decline of documentary photography and whether traditional documentary can be reinvented. The analysis focused on the FSA works (especially on Arthur Rothstein's famous *Skull* picture), which have been regarded by photographic communities as classical documentary photography.

Introduction

A run-down and lonely house surrounded by floating sand, for which two kids, together with their father, are heading hard in a dust storm that darkened the sky: this is how Arthur Rothstein portrayed in his famous photograph titled "Dust Storm, Cimarron County, Oklahoma, 1936" the life condition of the rural families in the Mid West affected both by the dust storm and by the Great Depression. This picture "convinced Washington to send government aid to the eroded and drought-stricken Great Plains" (Rothstein, 1986).

For those who are not familiar with the photographs taken by the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographers in the 1930s, *Dust Storm* might give you a general idea as to what they are like. These photographs, for the first time in history, were credited as documentary photographs, and the term documentary photography was coined also at that time, although the American social documentary tradition had well started at the turn of the century when Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine took pictures in service of a social cause, showed what was wrong with the society, and persuaded their fellows to take action to make wrongs right.

In 1935, the United States found itself in the most serious economic depression which had lasted for some years. Thousands and thousands of people were unemployed; and farmers, who had been seen as the backbone of the country, were especially struck, not only by the collapse of the market, but by unprecedented drought and dust storm. They began to leave their home and immigrated in throngs to California. In 1934, President Franklin Roosevelt decided to establish a new government agency called Resettlement Administration (RA), which was renamed Farm Security Administration in 1935, in the hope that it would bring economic relief and technical aid to the country and bring an end to the great depression. Unexpectedly, a small group of photographers from the Historical Section, one of the FSA agencies, produced one of the greatest collections of photographs in the history of America under the direction of Roy Stryker from 1935 to 1941. In the 270,000 pictures that was later collected in the Library of Congress, Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Russell Lee and other FSA photographers made a comprehensive record of the American life mainly in the rural areas. Their objective, as Stryker

put it, was to "introduce America to Americans,"¹ to show American spirit, and to provide forceful evidence to the "New Deal" legislature.

FSA photographers made documentary photography known and recognized as a distinctive photographic genre and made it well accepted as a channel of conveying "truth." The FSA photographic achievement was acclaimed as a great contribution to the development of American photography. In the *New York Times*, the photography critic Gene Thornton said:

It is one of the oddities of our times that photographs like these are still not considered an important part of art history. The standard histories of American art from the ashcan school to abstraction concentrate on painting and are more likely to notice the museum and gallery photography of Stieglitz and his successors than the documentary photography of the FSA photographers and their successors among the photojournalists. I will hazard a guess, however, that in one hundred years, or perhaps even fifty, the documentary photography of Arthur Rothstein and his colleagues will seem far more important as art than all the American painting of the past fifty years (quoted in Rothstein, 1986, p. 41).

Although the influence of the documentary genre brought up by the FSA team was reflected in the work produced by Photo League, Eugene Smith, and many other documentary photographers from the 1930s till today, the decline of this traditional documentary came in the late 1940s. Instead of showing social injustice or social evil and arousing actions to right wrongs, a new generation of documentary photographers in the 1950s such as Robert Frank, Garry Winogrand, and Diane Arbus began to adopt a documentary approach toward more personal ends. "Their aim has not been to reform life, but to know it. Their work betrays a sympathy--almost an affection--for the imperfections and frailties of society (John Szarkowski, quoted in Rosler, 1989, p.78)." As Rosler observed: "The liberal New Deal state has been dismantled piece by piece. The War on Poverty has been called off. Utopia has been abandoned, and liberalism itself has been deserted. ... The liberal documentary, in which members of the ascendant classes are implored to have pity on and to rescue members of the oppressed, now belongs to the past." (Rosler, 1989, p.72, 80). A group of documentary photographers on the west coast of the US, like Allan Sekula and Fred Lonidier, whose work are backed up by Marxist convictions, tried to reinvent documentary photography in the 1970s. Nevertheless, this 'New Documentary Photography' movement did not gain

¹ As a matter of fact, to be more precise, they showed mainly the rural Americans to urban Americans.

enough popularity because of its radical political position: so far, it is a long way from achieving its goal. Documentary photography, as a genre, has lost its old-day power in the contemporary American scene of arts and mass media though it still functions socially in one way or another. Cultural expressions based on a routed liberalism still survive. The now legitimized documentary has more or less become a ritual.

From diversified perspectives, scholars have anatomized and criticized the moribund traditional social documentary. It seems that the days are gone when documentary photography can influence the legislature and extract money out of the pocket of the sympathetic audience. What's wrong, then, with the social documentary? Will social documentary, instead of recording history, eventually itself become history? Can documentary be reinvented, as Allan Sekula (1984) expected in his reinvention manifesto? This paper has reviewed the existing literature, analyzed the traditional documentary strategies from positivist, social constructivist, Marxist, and postmodernist perspectives in an attempt to find out what caused the decline of this prominent photographic genre and whether traditional documentary can be reinvented. My work analysis will be focused on the FSA photographs (especially on Arthur Rothstein's famous *Skull*), which have been regarded by photographic communities as classical documentary photography.

What is documentary photography?

When we see a series of photographs like the ones taken by Jacob Riis, Dorothea Lange or Robert Frank, we may not hesitate to call them documentary photographs. But what is really that thing called documentary photography? Are Robert Frank's photographs the same as those taken by Riis or Lange as their ways of representation and their subject matters are concerned? Possibly not. Since the term "documentary photography" was coined in the United States in 1935 (Meltzer, 1978, p.159-160), there have been sporadic attempts to define this controversial construct. Documentary photographers take pictures according to their diversified understanding of what documentary photography is, leaving what they call documentary photographs everywhere, but the meaning of documentary photography fixed nowhere. Documentary photography has been claimed to be different from photojournalism and art

photography (Schuneman, 1972; Rothstein, 1986; Goldberg, 1991; Becker, 1996), but it has been practiced and utilized in all these and many other domains. Subject matters for documentary photography are as diversified as people can conceive. They go from landscape to social issues, from remote and exotic scenes to things that happen around us but we neglect or pay no attention to, from war to family life, from prostitutes and freaks to AIDS patients. The meaning of documentary photography has also experienced fundamental historical changes since the time photography came into being around the 1850s (Langford, 1980). People have been arguing about whether documentary photographs can tell the truth, whether photographs made with massive or salient manipulation approaches can be called documentary, whether a documentary photographer should be neutral or can also be impassioned, whether documentary photography should serve the middle-class or the often underprivileged subjects themselves, and how different documentary photography is from propaganda, etc., etc. (Hurley, 1972; Stott, 1973; Cala, 1977; Becker, 1978; Sekula, 1984; Peeler, 1987; Rosler, 1989; Curtis, 1989). In short, documentary photography is not so simple a term to define as it seems to be. The muddy attributes of documentary photography make it almost an intellectual impossibility to knit a definition that can be agreed upon by all. In his article 'Defining Documentary Film,' Michael Weinberger wrote: "There is no, and can be no, agreement on the definition of documentary film. If you resist my definition, and therefore my conclusion, so be it. However, at a time when the line between documentary and drama is being increasingly and intentionally obscured, this attempt to isolate a more conclusive definition seems a worthwhile challenge" (Weinberger, 1996). This, I am afraid, is also the case when we attempt to define documentary photography.

At the time when the term "documentary photography" was coined, the naming was immediately brought into dispute. Never satisfied with that word "documentary," Dorothea Lange, a then established documentary photographer from the FSA, once appealed to photography historian Beaumont Newhall, who served as head of the Department of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art at that time, to find a better word. "We rejected the word 'historical' because of its connotation with the remote past," Newhall said (Meltzer, 1978, p. 160). "'Factual' was too cold, it left out of account that magic power in a fine photograph that makes people look at it again and again, and find new truths with each looking. We groped, but never did find a single word which described that quest for understanding, that burning desire

to help people know one another's problem, that drive for defining in pictures the truths, which is the splendid essence of her work (Ibid.)." 'Realistic photography' was also once considered as a substitute for documentary photography at that time, according to Rothstein (1986).

Today, no one seems to have any disagreement on the naming. The problem, however, is that there is almost no agreement on the semantic meaning of documentary photography. Therefore, different attributes have been singled out to be emphasized in different writings that give the definition to this construct. Generally speaking, there are two camps of views. One favors the attribute of subjectivity of photographic representation while the other sees more objectivity in the documentary approach.

According to Beaumont Newhall, although the camera's value in making visual records was accepted from the beginning of the invention of photographic technology in 1839, the word "documentary" in connection with photography did not come into use until 1905 in France (Meltzer, 1978, p. 160). To Newhall, documentary was an approach rather than an end, with the end "a serious sociological purpose." In an article of 1938, he wrote that a documentary photographer is "first and foremost ... a visualizer. He puts into pictures what he knows about, and what he thinks of, the subject before his camera ... But he will not photograph dispassionately ... he will put into his camera studies something of the emotion which he feels toward the problem, for he realizes that this is the most effective way to teach the public he is addressing. After all, is not this the root-meaning of the word 'document' (*docere*, to teach)? (Ibid.)" Newhall further stressed on emotional impact when he later wrote that the importance of documentary photographs "lies in their power not only to inform us but to move us ... The aim is to persuade and to convince (Ibid.)." This desire to rouse the viewer of the photograph to an "active interpretation of the world in which we live" is what distinguishes the best documentary work from "bald" camera records, he concludes (Ibid.). To sum up, Newhall saw an active role of a documentary photographer in interpreting reality for photograph viewers. This is also the case with the conceptual definition given by the Time-Life Book editors (1980) in their book *Documentary Photography* when they wrote: documentary photography is "a depiction of the real world by a photographer whose intent is to communicate something of importance--to make a comment--that will be understood by the viewer."

Around the same time period when Newhall initiated the definition of documentary photography, Dorothea Lange made a much more comprehensive explanation on what documentary photography had come to embrace by that time. Lange's conceptual definition touched many aspects such as documentary photography's objective, attributes, subject matter, methods, participants and so on:

Documentary photography records the social scene of our time. It mirrors the present and documents for the future. Its focus is man in his relation to mankind. It records his customs at work, at war, at play, or his round of activities through twenty-four hours of the day, the cycle of the seasons, or the span of a life. It portrays his institutions--family, church, government, political organizations, social clubs, labor unions. It shows not merely their facades, but seeks to reveal the manner in which they function, absorb the life, hold the loyalty, and influence the behavior of human beings. It is concerned with methods of work and the dependence of workmen on each other and on their employers. It is pre-eminently suited to build a record of change. Advancing technology raises standards of living, creates unemployment, changes the face of cities and of the agricultural landscape. The evidence of these trends--the simultaneous existence of past, present, and portent of the future--is conspicuous in old and new forms, old and new customs, on every hand. Documentary photography stands on its own merits and has validity by itself. A single photographic print may be "news," a "portrait," "art," or "documentary"--any of these, all of them, or none. Among the tools of social science--graphs, statistics, maps, and text--documentation by photography now is assuming place. Documentary photography invites and needs participation by amateurs as well as by professionals. Only through the interested work of amateurs who choose themes and follow them can documentation by the camera of our age and our complex society be intimate, pervasive, and adequate (quoted in Coles, 1982, p. 124).

Here, we see a more objective take on documentary photography. Lange was a strong proponent of the "hands-off" principle. Gifford Hampshire, head of the *Documerica* documentary project in 1972, gave his definition in a similar vein: documentary photography, "is an honest approach by an individual who knows enough about the subject to establish its significance in present time and environment and for posterity" (quoted in Rothstein, 1986). Another good example is the five criteria set up by Weinberger when he defined documentary film: "(1) it must attempt to tell a true story in a non-dramatic fashion; (2) it must appear to do so by presenting only factual evidence; (3) it must not attempt to re-create the truth (though some would defend the validity of this method); (4) it must claim objectivity; (5) most importantly, (and perhaps most difficult to ascertain) it must, as closely as possible, present all factual evidence in its original context (Weinberger, 1996)."

Some other definitions took a more balanced approach in suggesting the issue of objectivity and subjectivity in documentary photography. A case in point can be found in Michael Langford's *The Story of Photography: From Its Beginning to the Present Day*: "Documentary photography means pictures of

actual situations and events, although composition, choice of moment etc., may be used to help communicate the photographer's own point of view. Hopefully this means he has researched and understood his subject, and will recognize what is significant, what points need to be made... (1980, p. 80)."

Subjectivity vs. objectivity has been an evergreen topic in photographic communities. Critic James Hugunin (1984) described traditional documentary photography² as being based on assumptions that the photograph represents a one-to-one correspondence with reality and that the viewer is a receptive subject that takes in the objective information of the world through the photograph. Hugunin's implication is that documentary photography creates certain expectations of factual truth on the part of the viewer.

While there is certainly a body of literature that continues to discuss documentary in terms of reality and objectivity, more authors argue for the subjective attribute of documentary. Trachtenberg (1989) argues that photographic subjectivity implies that whatever values and/or meaning that the photographer or photographic elite feels have been built in to the photograph will not necessarily be interpreted in the same manner by all viewers of the image. This is because photographs are not simple depictions of visual surroundings but instead are constructions selectively made by photographers employing their medium to make sense of their society. Therefore, while the photographic image is a witness, it is not a value-free witness. The photograph testifies not only to the facts of a scene but also to the photographer's choices; the images are nothing but the expression of the invisible person working behind the camera (Peeler, 1990).

Documentary photography is usually referred to the practice of nonfictional photographic representation of reality and the materialization of such practice--documentary photographs. For the convenience of exposition, this concept is often directly referred to documentary photographs themselves. According to the *Dictionary of Contemporary Photography*, documentary photography is "[t]he specialization of making motion pictures or still photographs of a nonfictional nature with an emphasis on realism, often for formal or informal educational purposes (Stroebe, 1974, p. 55)." The negation signified

by the prefix 'non' in the term 'nonfictional' is conceptually very clear: namely, that nonfictional is what is not fictional. Put quite simply then, the narrative must purport to be factual. For instance, if, in a union speech, people all see and only see Clinton, Gore and Gingrich on the rostrum, a photograph whose visual field is wide enough to cover all of them three, then, should be able to show, or at least suggestively show, all these three persons and only themselves. None of them should be played by anyone else like in a feature film, and none of them should be missing through technical handling in the darkroom or on the computer.

In a broad sense, all photographs taken without intentional tricks like mounting special-effect filter on a lens when taking a picture, or creating special effects like embroidery, high-key, low-key or retouching film in the post-production procedure, are documentary in nature. In this sense, all such photographs including a large part of high art photographs, and almost all news photographs can be counted as documentary photographs. Also in this sense, any staged and posed photographs such as feature film clips, false news photographs, studio portraits, etc., can also be counted as documentary photographs, simply because such "photographs do not actually lie but only say precisely what the camera sees" (Goldberg, 1991, p. 19). In a narrow sense, documentary photographs are only referred to those that are not only factual but also have sociological significance or intention.

In history, there have been two threads of documentary practice in photography. The first serves the immediate purposes. By proving something is wrong, or causing damage, or beneficial to humankind, it attempts to bring up social attention on the object(s) being depicted so as to make people take actions to change or prevent, or support and encourage certain situation. Tentatively, we call this type documentary photographs "issue documentary." Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine's photographs are good examples in this sub-category. The other thread refers to those photographs with the objective of preserving for current generation, mostly posterity a visual record of the social scenes that will never be seen. Such photographs do not necessarily have the intention of demanding social reform. Tentatively, we call this type of photographs "preservation documentary." John Thompson, Eugene Atget, and later, Garry Winogrand,

² Documentary photography represented by photographers like Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, FSA, Photo League, Eugene Smith is often called traditional documentary photography. This genre came to a decline around the late 1940s,

and Diane Arbus's photographs are such examples. "Issue documentary" and "preservation documentary" are usually regarded, either explicitly or implicitly in scholarly writings, as two sub-categories of documentary photography. There are many other examples such as FSA project and Robert Frank's *The Americans* that overlap these two categories, but they have all developed out of them and have an emphasis on the attributes of either category.

Since documentary is almost always involved with social issues, "social documentary" has often been used as a synonym for documentary photography. Documentary dealing with personal issues can be called personal documentary.

A documentary photograph in a narrow sense suggests that there must be someone or something out there to be documented by a photographer with a still camera, and this documentation process from picture-taking to darkroom processing is not tinted by photographic tricks, and people are taken picture of in their natural settings instead of in an artificial setting such as a studio. This is a necessity for the construct to exist. Such restriction makes us able to exclude from documentary photography many art photographs that pursue for special photographic effects like juxtaposition, double or multiple images in one single photograph, high-key or low-key effect, etc. Also excluded are studio portraits, movie stills, and so on.

The most difficult to differentiate are news photographs and documentary photographs, simply because documentary photographers have taken print media extensively as its basic publishing platform since the 1930's. On the other hand, all news photographs are documentary photographs in the broad sense. Since there are diversified understandings of documentary photography, it is indeed hard to differentiate empirically these two types of photographic practice. But the following hints may, though not always, provide us some clues to see the empirical differences between the two.

1. News photographs emphasize news values mainly by showing something recent while documentary photographs do not have this burden. The latter emphasizes social and historical values often by showing something of social significance but that is not necessarily tied to any immediate practical use.

though it is still kicking today.

2. Because of the different emphases of values, news photographs and documentary photographs usually have different subject matters. The former often reports events on the micro level such as a conference, a fire, a homicide, a snowstorm, a negotiation, so on and so forth. The latter, however, often shows things on the macro level (not necessarily events) that contain important information about a society or a historical period such as what an ethnicity such as Indian people is like in a certain period, how child labor is being exploited in a community, what unnoticed social problems were like in the 50s America, etc.

3. News photographs are made for a certain newspaper or magazine and for certain groups of readers while most documentary photographs are not supposed to be anything in particular since the work is not made for anyone in particular who can have enforced such requirement except for those government or organization sponsored projects.

4. All news photographs are published on print media, but documentary photographs are scattered all around both in print media and in other platforms such as museum, book, union lobby, and so on. When documentary photographs are published in print media, they are usually a tiny sample of a big collection of photographs and the story around them.

5. News photographs have limited quantity because of limited space. Documentary photographs, on the other hand, are usually huge in quantity so as to be able to contain macro-level information.

Documentary photography is a discrete construct. In any studies about its definition, some discontinuous categories, such as documentary photography, art photography, news photography or photojournalism, visual sociology, are needed to form a nominal scale.

Photographers usually have a clear-cut style of their own as the trade-mark of their photographs. That is, they usually claim themselves to be a documentary photographer, a postmodernist photographer, a straight photographer, or a pictorialist, etc. Therefore, it is not inappropriate to take a photographer's collection of photographs as a unit of observation. Although the term 'documentary photography' is often assigned to particular photographs in reference to other photographs, it is, generally speaking, observable for an individual photographer's collection of photographs. In other words, you can decide if a certain group of pictures are documentary photographs by reading the pictures together with any accompanying

text that is relevant. The construct documentary photography embodies a series of abstract ideas, but it is materialized into concrete photographs, therefore, made tangible.

By reviewing all the expositions cited above about documentary photography, we can find that, though people have different expectations for documentary photography, and have different usage of it, they do seem to agree that a documentary photograph should at least be a factual, that is, non-fictional representation of reality though subjectivity is inevitably involved in all pictures. Oftentimes we see two levels of uses of this construct. One is the narrow-sense use under which covered are only those factual photographs serving the purpose of providing evidence in certain sociological sense. And the other is the broad-sense use under which covered are not only narrow-sense documentary photographs, but also news photographs and many other photographs that are factual in nature. My study interest lies in the narrow-sense use of the construct, therefore, news photography or photojournalism, or art photography is not covered in this study.

Since manipulation has been widely practiced in documentary photography to serve a photographer's subjective interpretation of reality, a large portion of widely acclaimed documentary photographs will be excluded from documentary photography if manipulation is accepted as a criterion to define documentary photography. Therefore, the factor of manipulation has to be discounted in the process of defining although it is not looked upon as something desirable by any photographers.

The truth value is not solely decided by image makers because readers often take an active role in the interpretation of image meanings, therefore, the truth or untruth of content is not at issue in defining documentary photography. Although it is not difficult to find examples of pro-subjectivity, pro-objectivity and mixture definitions of documentary photography, none of them so far seems to have shown enough respect for the obvious fact that there have been two threads of documentary practice in history-- "issue documentary" and "preservation documentary." A serious definition should take such difference into account.

Based on the analysis of the existing literature about the uses and definitions of documentary photography, I believe that *documentary photography is an extensive factual photographic representation of human conditions or human-environment relations of social and or historical significance with the*

intention of providing sociological evidence. Based on such evidential function, some documentary photographs are invested with social comments while others aim at preserving social scenes that are thought to be important to the contemporary generation or are never to be seen again for posterity.

Any individual photographer's photographs that can be claimed to be documentary photographs, thus classified into the category of documentary photography, must meet the following four criteria:

1. They are taken and processed without resorting to photographic tricks such as using juxtaposition or multiplying images in one single photograph, generating high-key or low-key, etc.;
2. They are an integrated series of photographs;
3. They present factual evidence and have non-fictional narrative, demonstrating a photographer's integrity;
4. They make a visual representation of human conditions or human-environment relations of social and/or historical significance no matter whether the nature of such conditions or relations is good or bad.

Objectivity, truth, and propaganda -- From a positivist perspective

Positivism generally refers to any system that confines itself to the data of experience and excludes a priori metaphysical speculations. It aims at clarifying the meanings of basic concepts (as I did above in defining documentary photography) and assertions and not to attempt to answer unanswerable questions such as those regarding the nature of ultimate reality or of the Absolute. What positivism recommends positively is a logic and methodology of the basic assumptions and of the validation procedures of knowledge and of evaluation.

The questions that positivists would ask about documentary photography would be: How are documentary photographs produced? Who produced them? For whom? And with what effect? This Lasswellian model has been around for decades in documentary photography studies. The core issues involved are: Can documentary photographs be objective? Or are they just doing propaganda?

Objectivity

The decade of the 1930s was an era that placed a high value on documentary, and its documentary ideal was "the supposedly objective eye of the camera" (Goldberg, 1991, p. 34). For instance, Arthur Rothstein claims that "[t]he reality seen before the lens by the documentary photographer is recorded objectively on the sensitive emulsion with a comment by the photographer on the truth perceived" (1986, p. 19).

Here, it is extremely important for us to see what objectivity meant to the FSA photographers by examining their photographic philosophies and ways of representation. FSA photographers emphasized the principle of "hands-off," that is, conducting no manipulation in the process of photographic production so as to reach objectivity.³ Rothstein believed that "life is so exciting that it needs no further embellishment" (Schuneman, 1972, p. 191). In *Documentary Photography*, the last book he wrote, Rothstein said: "If a selection is made, it is done in a balanced way to prevent misinterpretation of the truth. The techniques used are straightforward, without artificial manipulation" (1986, p. 34). His colleague Walker Evans also advocated unmanipulative approaches. For Evans, documentary is "stark record," and any alteration or manipulation of the facts, for propaganda or other reasons, he considered "a direct violation of our tenets" (Stott, 1973, p. 269). Dorothea Lange, who thought of herself as a clinical observer, committed to a direct, unmanipulated recording of contemporary events, simply put up a quotation from Francis Bacon on her darkroom door:

*The contemplation of things as they are
Without substitution or imposture
Without error or confusion
Is in itself a nobler thing
Than a whole harvest of invention.*

³ In photography, the term manipulation is often associated with altering negatives or prints in the darkroom. It is, however, used in this paper to refer to any acts of staging, posing in the production process and re-touching or other controls like inappropriate cropping in the post-production process. Manipulation is a way of changing the status of things. In the process of manipulation, human subject's expression, gesture, or position, or still life's prior spatial status are intentionally intervened at the time of being photographed, negatives or photographs are doctored in the darkroom, some important information pertaining to an event is intentionally excluded, or some elements are intentionally juxtaposed so as to enhance a concept, to represent a situation or to serve specific purposes.

What is ironic is that the practice of image manipulation was popular if not pervasive among FSA photographers in spite of their non-manipulation claims. They either staged or posed still life, or human subjects, or both, or re-touched the film. For instance, Rothstein resorted to massive manipulation in his famous *Skull, Badlands, South Dakota, 1936* by dragging around the skull as something like a prop (Curtis, 1989). Eliot Elisofan paid two youngsters to pose for him as though they were hitching rides on the back of a streetcar (Peeler, 1987, p. 92). Walker Evans manipulated his subjects and arranged scenes to fit both his artistic tastes and interpretive intent (Peeler, 1987, p. 93; Curtis, 1989, p. 40-43). Lange was concerned with a deep sense of aesthetics, which led her to retouch a thumb from the lower right corner of the famous "mother" picture (Doherty, 1976, p. 80). Post Wolcott, on the other hand, actively selected and juxtaposed, or to use her own word, "slant[ed]" things in the viewfinder to get the maximum amount of suffering in photographs (Peeler, 1987, p. 80). More manipulation examples can be found in Delano and Vachon's photographs.

How come, then, there was such a salient double talk? That is, why is there a discrepancy between what the FSA photographers believed and what they did? And how did they see their manipulation? Again, let's start with a comment made by Rothstein. When approaching the subject of manipulation, Rothstein said:

There is no such thing as absolute purity in photography. ... In terms of actually posing a subject, or staging an event, no, I prefer to shoot spontaneously. But my boss, Roy Stryker, once said--and I agree--that there are times when you simply have to pose a photograph. Stryker recommended that, since truth is not absolute, but a balance of elements, if you're going to set up something, at least go through the motions of what leads up to the photograph. If you want to catch truth in the posed shot, he said, you'd best go through the operation (quoted in Cala, 1977).

From this statement, we can find that Rothstein's version of truth is a balance of elements through manipulation of camera operation -- presenting truth is not equivalent to mechanical recording. Rothstein was not alone with such an interpretation of objectivity. Jack Delano argued that a documentary photograph should *not* be "nature in the raw"; the photographer must refine his composition by eliminating all extraneous images so that the final product does not merely reflect, but is "an expression of the essence" of, the photographer's vision (Peeler, 1987, p. 91). In the same token, Russell Lee was sustained by the belief that he should photograph Oklahoma not as it was, but as he and Steinbeck thought

it should be (Ibid., p. 92). Rothstein, Evans, and many other FSA photographers, all knew that total objectivity was impossible.¹ Peeler had a piercing analysis of FSA's truth philosophy. When he discussed Vachon's photographic ideas, Peeler wrote:

Documentary photographers of the 1930s believed that one of their tasks was to portray thirties America. But like Vachon, they insisted that the truth about the Depression was not something that simply appeared in front of a photographer. Instead, the "true or typical situation" was what Vachon or any other photographer believed it to be; the scene before the camera was a pliable one that the photographer could arrange according to his own notion of just what the truth should be. America stood before them as an infinite set of images from which the photographer could pick and choose according to his inner vision, and if the country did not cooperatively provide scenes corresponding to that vision, then it was up to the photographer to arrange the setting properly (1987, p. 58).

Consequently, the "reality" seen by FSA photographers as "true," as Peeler said, was "synonymous with the photographer's vision," was captured to validate their own political positions, "and the photographer could justifiably control the subjects and arrange the scene so that they corresponded to his conception" (1987, p. 94). It is obvious that FSA photographers were hardly passive image makers. They considered camera as an extension of the their own ordering and arranging eye rather than an instrument of blind truth, as Peeler put it. Their eyes, their mind, and their heart commanded them to capture whatever they thought was true, and if necessary, use manipulation approaches to make things look true to their own perception. Their objective truth was negotiated by their subjective investment.

Sekula (1984) said: "The rhetorical strength of documentary is imagined to reside in the unequivocal character of the camera's evidence, in an essential realism. The theory of photographic realism emerges historically as both product and handmaiden of positivism. Vision, itself unimplicated in the world it encounters, is subjected to a mechanical idealization." FSA team and some other photographers in the 1930s believe that the viewer is a receptive subject taking in the objective information of the world through the photograph, and that the photograph is transparent and presents itself as the thing itself (Curtis, 1989). Margaret Bourke-White, a well-known documentary photographer in the '30s to '40s, also seriously believed that the camera, as a machine, can convey messages transparently and passively in ways that writing or painting--non-machines--never can. "With a camera,"

¹ For Evans's example, see the analysis in Curtis, 1989, p. 23-24.

explained Margaret Bourke-White. "The shutter opens and closes and the only rays that come in to be registered come directly from the object in front... On the other hand, writing is not so direct and mechanical, whatever facts a person writes have to be colored by his prejudice, and bias" (quoted in Stott, 1973, p. 31-32). Stott regards such claims as naive and irrelevant. "Actually," said Stott, "there is bias in most photographs, especially documentary photographs, and Bourke-White's among them. She exaggerated the impersonality of the medium, because the process that makes a photo is mechanical, she claimed that the results are wholly objective, an error common in the thirties" (Ibid., p. 32). The New Deal opponents further criticized FSA photographs such as Rothstein's *Skull* as propaganda (Unknown, 1955).⁵

Nevertheless, are FSA photographs objective, after all? The answer, I believe, depends on how you define objectivity. Positivism emphasizes an adequate understanding of the functions of language and of the various types of meaning. In this respect, Allan Megill's 'Four Senses of Objectivity' might serve as a useful guide in our answering this question. Megill warns that those who claim to offer some sort of "resolution" to "the problem of objectivity" "are either unaware of the theoretical complexities involved in "the problem of objectivity" or overconfident in their notions of what theory can accomplish" (1994, p. 12). In this article, Megill listed and analyzed four types of objectivity:

There is firstly a philosophical or *absolute* sense of objectivity. This type of objectivity derives from (although it is not identical with) the ideal of "representing things as they really are" that has played an important role in the modern philosophical tradition. It aspires to a knowledge so faithful to reality as to suffer no distortion, and toward which all inquirers of good will are destined to converge. Secondly, there is a *disciplinary* sense, which no longer assumes a wholesale convergence and instead takes consensus among the members of particular research communities as its standard of objectivity. Thirdly, there is an interactional or *dialectical* sense, which holds that objects are constituted as objects in the course of an interplay between subject and object; thus unlike the absolute and disciplinary senses, the dialectical sense leaves room for the subjectivity of the knower. Finally, there is a *procedural* sense, which aims at the practice of an impersonal method of investigation or administration (Ibid., p. 1).

According to Megill, most people, actually, refer to the objectivity in the absolute sense when they address such an issue. Stott's charge of Bourke-White's view of objectivity and an implicit comment

⁵ Rothstein's *Skull*, perhaps, has brought up most accusations of making propaganda among all the FSA photographs. For instance, an article in *Detroit Free Press* published on September 4, 1936 was titled 'Another Fake Traced to

on FSA work's objectivity apparently is a case in point. Now does FSA work fit in the third sense of objectivity? Fabian is one of the proponents of the objectivity in this dialectical sense. Fabian sees objectivity as the result of a process of knowledge production that involves "objectification;" and in this process, Fabian concludes that positivistic approaches, that is, the objective approaches in the absolute sense, conceal everything that is important about objectivity because positivism wrongly assumes that social scientific knowledge is based on facts that are simply "there" (Ibid., p. 8-9). Skidmore also expressed a similar opinion when he said: "Pure objectivity does not carry us very far. As soon as an answer to one of these questions comes in terms of will, choice, belief, value, and so on, we are out of the realm of objectivity and face to face with human motives, which do not respond well to objective research. Thus it is that the *subjectivist* position gains its strength" (1979, p. 25). Denying absolute objectivity is not to deny objectivity generally. "Dialectical objectivity," as McGill said, "involves a positive attitude toward subjectivity. The defining feature of dialectical objectivity is the claim that subjectivity is indispensable to the constituting of objects. Associated with this feature is a preference for 'doing' over 'viewing'" (1994, p. 8). This "doing" vs. "viewing" distinction seem to be directly referring to the manipulation of the FSA photographers done in their visual representation of the thirties America according to their own understanding of what the truth was. The photographers' subjective input finds its justification here. Therefore, I argue that the FSA objectivity philosophy falls exactly into this third category of McGill's objectivity: dialectical objectivity. Rothstein may be wrong in many of his claims about objectivity but he is right when he claimed that there is no 'absolute purity' in photography. The FSA photographs are objective in the sense that the reality in these photographs is constructed both from the photographers' mind and heart, and is not merely a mechanical record.

Propaganda

FSA team was sensitive to any charges of their making propaganda. Roy Stryker avoided even talking about it, as though to deny its existence (Doherty, 1976, p. 10). Walker Evans seemed to be the

Doctor Tugwell's Propagandists.' Another article on *Waterloo (Iowa) Courier* published on September 25, 1936 was titled 'The Drought Wasn't As Bad As It Was Photographed.'

FSA photographer most concerned that his photographs not be considered "propaganda." He told an audience of Harvard students many years later, "You're not--and shouldn't be. I think--trying to change the world... saying, 'Open up your heart, and bleed for these people.' I would never dream of saying anything like that..." (quoted in Guimond, 1991, p. 143). Rothstein, who was perhaps the most scholastically productive of all the FSA photographers, wrote in 1986, "Sometimes ... documentary coverage is mistaken for propaganda. The definition of propaganda is the spreading of ideas, information, facts, or allegations, deliberately, to help or injure a cause, a person, or an institution. The propagandist tries to be convincing, not objective. The propagandist may distort, select, omit, and arrange material so that the information is presented in a biased manner" (p. 33). Such sensitivity, hatred and apprehensive self-defense are understandable because such charges had the potential of shaking the photographers' assertions of telling the truth in an objective way about what they saw.

Sociologists argue for "value-freedom" in research approaches. "In order to discover what 'is,' it is necessary for the sociologist to bring no personal prejudice about social relations to his study... If disinterestedness is not maintained, what one believes 'ought' to be may get in the way of what 'is'; dogma would interfere with thought. Alternatively, the sociologist not wishing to be value-free could turn sociological theory into propaganda" (Skidmore, 1979, p. 32). Unfortunately, documentary photographers' production methods usually belong to the latter case. Documentary photographs are both informative and affective. Unlike sociological empirical studies, documentary photography is meant to work both on readers' sense and sensibilities. Moreover, many documentary photographers cannot resist the temptation of making art in their photographs which are meant to be documentary in nature.⁶ As Curtis said when he analyzed the FSA work: "Too much emphasis on artistic creativity or individual vision implied subjectivity and would undermine the veracity of the finished product. No wonder documentarians so

⁶ Becker argued: "The desire to make 'art' may, then, lead photographers to suppress details that interfere with their artistic conception, a conception that might be perfectly valid in its own right, but that unsuits the photographs for use as evidence for certain kinds of conclusions. Many social scientists have just this fear about photographs. It is a justified fear, but one relevant not only to photographs or to those photographs made with some artistic intention" (1978, p. 12).

often dodged the issue of art versus reality!" (1989, p. 24) The aim to persuade, coupled with the desire of making art, always makes a documentary photographer resort to salient subjective selections, or even manipulations. It is exactly this subjectivity that gives any potential opponents a handle to accuse documentary photography of making propaganda.

In reality, to distinguish exactly between propaganda and information is hard, if not impossible. "Almost all social utterances," as Stott claims, "involve propaganda because almost all seek to influence opinion" (1973, p. 23). Stott would agree absolutely with Newhall that it is not information that the documentary photograph supplies, but an inescapably "biased" form of communication that is equally present in all forms of exposition. In their simplest terms, Stott's hypotheses rest upon the recognition that the so-called information in documentary photography is always biased. To some extent, Stott is right, because under a photographer's passion, sentiment, emotion, and facts may well be juxtaposed to serve the purposes of persuasion, and this is exactly the case with FSA. Although Stryker would shy at the use of the word propaganda, it is clear that he began to understand its potential in the twenties and then devoted the remainder of his life to practicing the art of its use (Doherty, 1976). It may not be incidental that Franklin Roosevelt also advocated publicity that "can right a lot of wrongs" although he avoided its tainted name 'propaganda' (Stott, 1973, p. 26). FSA team, as with Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine ahead of them, and as with Eugene Smith following them, were trying to both influence their audience's intellect and feelings by the social comments invested in their photographs. Around the fall of 1940, when the depression was largely over, Stryker asked his photographers to make what Evans called hard-core propaganda (though the photographers themselves did not seem to be interested in doing that), that is, "to illustrate popular, reassuring clichés about America: that there were plenty of young men available to work in factories and build bridges, that old people were contented and secure, and so forth" (Guimond, 1991, p. 138-139). No matter whether the FSA team liked the idea of propaganda or not, propaganda was in fact their common mode of expression.

⁷ Beaumont Newhall has observed that a photographer engaged in the documentary strategy "seeks to do more than convey information His aim is to persuade and convince" (quoted in Jussim, 1989, p. 153).

Now, the question we need to ask is: Is propaganda all bad, misleading, or vicious? To quote Goldberg, "[t]he word *propaganda* means nothing more than dissemination of some doctrine, originally that of the Roman Catholic Church. The negative connotation has been added over time. If the doctrine is your own, disseminating it is good public relations; if someone else's, it's propaganda" (1991, p. 24). Interestingly, Stott also dissected propaganda into two half, but in a little different way. On the one hand, there is *black propaganda*, put forward by a covert source, using vilification and lies to spread dissension among the group it addresses, such as the German and Italian Fascists' propaganda that was built of big lies; on the other hand, there is *white propaganda*, put forward from an overt source, using actual fact to educate its audience, such as *The Grapes of Wrath* and *The Spanish Earth*. There are all shades of gray in between (1973, p. 23). "Few people in the thirties made these distinctions: then propaganda per se was evil" (ibid.).

As a way of communication, all photographs contain information as well as the elements of persuasion. Therefore, a condemnation of propaganda as being intrinsically evil is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of communication. Stott and Goldberg's positivist thinking provides us new ways of looking at the phenomenon of propaganda, especially its positive aspect.

Context -- from a social constructivist perspective

Documentary photographs are definitely not mechanical recording of reality. A photographer's way of seeing is framed by his or her values and goals, and/or by those of his or her employer's or client's, and by influential photographers who set the pattern for others on some important dimensions such as artistic style, subject matter emphasis, way of presentation, and so on. Social constructivism is interested in how people, mainly image producers, come to agree upon some preferred definition of reality. Therefore, the questions they would ask would include: Who is taking pictures? How do they mean to locate that work in some work organization? Conversely, what kind of work and which people do they mean to exclude? In short, what are they trying to accomplish by talking this way (also see Becker, 1996)?

When photographers are making images, they almost always draw boundaries around the activities, saying where they belong organizationally, establishing who is in charge, who is responsible for what, and who is entitled to what (Becker, 1996). Documentary photography would carry different meanings to photographers working for a government organization like FSA, for privately owned mass media like Margaret Bourke-White, and for themselves like Eugene Atget. It would also carry different meanings to photographers working in journalism like Eugene Smith, doing visual sociology like Douglas Harper, and working in the traditions of fine arts like Henri Cartier-Bresson. In short, the meaning of documentary photographs arises in the organizations the photographs are used in, out of the joint action of all the people involved in those organizations, and so varies from time to time and place to place. Photographs get their meaning from the way the people involved with them understand them, use them, and thereby attribute meaning to them. Meaning is socially constructed.

Walker (1977) describes to us a picture of how photographic images are made within a social context when he writes:

The process by which photographic images are produced and disseminated, and the economic arrangements underlying that process, exert a powerful influence over the type of images that are made available to the public. The photographer consciously selects a given aspect of society to photograph. Writers, editors, and publishers then select certain works and disseminate them in a particular manner. Finally, historians apply the official stamp of approval when they confirm the idea that certain images indeed provide documentation of a given time and place in history.

Walker singled out Jacob Riis to illustrate his points. He argued that Riis's choice of subjects reflected his own understanding of the political economy of documentary photography. Riis sought to arouse the conscience of those who held political power. In his desire to portray members of the working class as victims, Riis left certain things out of his photographs. He did not choose, for example, to heighten the sense of injustice by juxtaposing images of the poor with images of the wealthy. Rather than documenting social reality, Riis's (Hine's as well) photographs accurately documented a political movement (or movements) that was associated with liberal reform.

Riis helped establish two of the documentary traditions: the focus of attention remains solidly fixed on the victims, and the victims are shown to the other half to see. FSA photographs in the 1930s

showed victims in the rural areas to the urban residents and the Washington bureaucratic. Diane Arbus's collection of freaks in the 1950s offered an opportunity for middle class to see "how the other half lives." The other half, in this case, was defined more in terms of cultural life style than in terms of economic class. The various political struggles in the 1960's — the civil-rights and black-power movements, the anti-war and New Left movements— produced an outpouring of partisan and committed documentary photography. But much of this work was aimed at people who did not participate in the struggles directly. It became, in a sense, documentation of "how the other half protests" (Ibid.).

Now let's come back to the example of Rothstein's *Skull* picture. After he joined the RA team, Rothstein was greatly influenced by his art-oriented colleagues such as Walker Evans and Ben Shahn.⁸ "He admired the attention to detail so evident in the work of Evans, and the sense of identification and sympathy with which Shahn and Lange approached their subjects (Dixon, 1983, p. 119)." We may not be going too far to speculate that *Skull* was mainly inspired by Evans's gorgeous still life style which greatly influenced the FSA photographer team. But what is most important of all is that Rothstein's *Skull* and almost all the other FSA photographers' work were tremendously influenced by Roy Stryker's thinking and the government's goals and needs. Carl Mydans was speaking for many photographers when he said, "No one ever worked for him for any length of time without carrying some of Roy Stryker with him" (Rothstein, 1986, p. 36). As a matter of fact, *Skull* conformed to Resettlement Administration instructions that whenever possible, photographs should include evidence of land misuse and mismanagement (see Curtis, 1973, p. 71). It is hard to imagine that Stryker would have congratulated Rothstein after he saw those skull pictures in Washington D.C. simply because of their high artistic quality.⁹ And it is equally hard to imagine that the FSA bureaucrat in D.C. would be satisfied with Rothstein as a government employee in only demonstrating his artistic talent in the photographs at the government's expenditure. In

⁸ In an interview for the Archives of American Art, Rothstein acknowledged that Ben Shahn and Walker Evans both "contributed a great deal to my own development as a photographer in those days... They made me very much aware of the elements that go into photography—those that go beyond just the content of the picture—the elements of style, of individual approach, of being able to see clearly, and being able to visualize ideas" (Rothstein, 1979, p. 7).

⁹ Rexford Tugwell, Director of the FSA, Stryker's ex-professor at Columbia University, once emphasized, "that the photographs may be considered art is complimentary, but that is incidental to their purpose" (Doherty, 1976, p. 13).

a word. *Skull* must have been expected both by Rothstein and FSA to serve government purposes, that is, to serve as evidence of certain truth assertions such as land misuse or mismanagement.

It is easy to observe the organizational structure set up for the FSA work when we compare the early work and the late work done by the FSA photographers. From 1935 to roughly 1938, the FSA work presented destitute farmers, sharecroppers, and migrant "Okies" as passive victims so as to implant awareness and hopefully arouse actions among the urban residents to provide help to those who were in need of it. By the late 1930's a quite different tone began to creep into the images, one of conservative nationalism. This trend is particularly evident in the photographs of Arthur Rothstein and Marion Post Wolcott. Rothstein's images are of good simple folk--healthy, happy, and productive. Wolcott's images, meanwhile, convey a sense of reverence for the beauty of the American landscape. The sense of human suffering and of the rape of the land, so strong in earlier FSA images, was definitely muted.

Corresponding to the framing nature of documentary work done by the government, any such photographic endeavor tended to be distrusted as propaganda by the media and the public in the 1930s. A film distributor who refused to handle *The River*, a documentary film also made by the Roosevelt government, said that had it been made by a private company "it would be a documentary film. When the government makes it, it automatically becomes a propaganda picture (quoted in Stott, 1973, p. 24)." Many magazines and newspapers were hesitant in using government-financed photographs, feeling that government photography must necessarily be very slanted or propagandistic in nature, thus, untrue (also see Hurley, 1972, p. 123).

As Blyton (1987) argued: "The range of possible orientations of photographer and client, the ways the subjects of the photography may respond to having their picture taken, and the possible languages the viewer may adopt in 'reading' the final photograph together offer considerable scope for a whole series of 'truths' to be created by the simple chemical action of exposing surfaces of silver halides to light." Context gives images meaning. If the work does not provide context, viewers will provide it, or not, from their own resources.

Truth and the politics of representation -- from a Marxist perspective

The modern era is marked by an investment in the corrosive power of objectivity and truth. Documentary photography has often been regarded as having the capacity, unique among the graphic media, to provide direct access to "truth." The photograph is seen as a re-presentation of nature itself, as an unmediated copy of the real world. The medium itself is considered transparent. "The propositions carried through the medium are unbiased and therefore true" (Sekula, 1984). Revealing truth has become the paramount criterion for distinguishing documentary and non-documentary (Weinberger, 1996).

FSA photographers were motivated by an obligation to truth. To photographers like Rothstein, truth is equivalent to reality or fact, something out there, and can be objectively recorded by a documentary photographer. Such interpretation of this statement is supported by another statement made by Rothstein: "[F]or many of us the thirties journalistic catch-phrase 'I Was There,' is often enough (quoted in Cala, 1977)." But is that really enough? If yes, why do we often see so many photographs all taken by skilled photographers from the same scene or event with different or even contradictory messages? Who, then, is really telling the truth? Truth about what?¹⁰ Truth might come in the form of a single fact, but is there any guarantee that an aggregate of facts will adequately describe the truth? Are all the truth claims equally valid? We need to be cautious in answering such questions.

Representation is a tricky social activity because it always involves a certain degree of abstraction, that is, the taking away of one characteristic or more of the original. On the one hand, since every object and event has an indefinitely large array of qualities, there is no point at which a description, a process of abstraction, of it would be completed. On the other hand, if everything that existed were continually being represented, for instance, photographed, every photograph would become meaningless. Representing an object or an event with a selected and limited array of information is, thus, a highly ideological activity.

¹⁰ Becker argued that the simple question "Is it true?" is unanswerable and meaningless. "Every photograph, because it begins with the light rays something emits hitting film, must in some obvious sense be true; and because it could always have been made differently than it was, it cannot be the whole truth and in that obvious sense is false." He suggested that, to talk about the question more sensibly, we have to begin with asking, "Is this photograph telling the truth about what?" The point is to ask ourselves what question or questions the photograph might be answering. "We

Representation necessarily involves politics. Making representations with immaculate meanings is impossible. "No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society" (Said, 1980, p. 10). All photography today comes under the gaze of a piercing political eye, and photographers are already in politics. As Victor Burgin said: "The only imaginable non-political being is a totally self-sufficient hermit. The photographer who has chosen to live in a society and enjoy its benefits, even though he also chooses to put on blinkers when he squints into a viewfinder, is willy-nilly an actor in a political situation" (quoted in Webster, 1980, p. 145). This is why matters of truth have become more and more questions about faith, belief and conviction in recent decades.

Marxist approaches have focused on the power relations behind representations. Martha Rosler's article 'in, around, and afterthoughts on documentary photography' is a good example of such an approach though a postmodernist perspective is added when she analyzed her own Bowerly work. The tenet of the article was to call into question aspects of documentary as a strategy for "truth" already under attack from many quarters. The major criticisms on the traditional documentary photography made in this article can be summarized into the following four points.

First, documentary carries information about a group of powerless people to another group addressed as socially powerful. Documentary images are meant to be consumed by a middle class with the leisure and money allowing for such consumption. They are not addressed to the members of the underprivileged. For instance, Hine's child labor photographs addressed his concern over poor working conditions to an essentially middle-class, reform-minded audience, rather than seeking to raise workers' own consciousness of their situation (also see Blyton, 1987, p. 419). Documentary transforms threat into fantasy, and into imagery that are rendered vivid, human, and most often, poignant to the audience. An audience can enjoy the imagery while leaving it behind at the same time (It is them, not us.), and as a

needn't restrict ourselves to questions the photographs suggest. We can also use them to answer questions the photographer did not have in mind and that are obviously suggested by the picture." See Becker, 1978, p. 10.

private person, may even support the causes. Voyeurism has been a major ingredient in the documentary tradition.

Second, documentary photography has been much more comfortable in the company of moralism than wedded to a rhetoric or program of revolutionary politics. Documentary photographers have been strongly motivated by the worry that the ravages of poverty such as crime, immorality, prostitution, disease, and radicalism would threaten the health and security of polite society as well as by sympathy for the poor. They appeal for the practice of charity such as providing free and compulsory public education. This appeal represents an argument within a class about the need to give a little in order to mollify the dangerous classes below. Poverty and oppression are almost invariably equated with misfortunes caused by natural disasters: causality is vague, blame is not assigned, and fate cannot be overcome.

Third, documentary images are made on the backs of the exploited. A documentary image has two moments: 1. the "immediate," instrumental one, that works as testimony and evidence to argue for or against a social practice and its ideological-theoretical supports, and 2. the conventional "aesthetic-historical" moment, in which the viewer's argumentativeness cedes to the organismic pleasure afforded by the aesthetic "rightness" or well-formedness of the image. It is this second moment, which is less definable in its boundaries, that tends to put an emphasis on the symbolization of a historical moment than on its explicitly or implicitly claimed objective: elevating the victims out of quagmire. Rosler took Florence Thompson, the subject of Dorothea Lange's famous picture *Migrant Mother*, as an example and asked a trenchant question about all documentary: What happened to the subject in the photo? Thompson's image in the thirties has been immortalized, thought to be *not-her* and to have an independent life history, but Mrs. Thompson was said to get \$331.60 a month from Social Security and \$44.40 for medical expenses in 1979. "She is of interest solely because she is an incongruity, a photograph that has aged; of interest solely because she is a postscript to an acknowledged work of art" (Rosler, 1979, p. 76). Martha Rosler is convinced that photographing the victims of a society exploits them and it is a collaboration with the system responsible for their condition.

Finally, it is the photographer behind the camera, not the subject in the story who becomes the focus of a documentary piece. Documentary testifies to the bravery or the manipulateness and savvy of

the photographer, who entered a situation of physical danger, social restrictedness, human decay, or combinations of these and saved us the trouble, or who, like the astronauts, entertained us by showing us the places we never hope to go. The celebration of the photographer's high humanist and artistic quality in image-making replaces a critical understanding of the problems revealed in the story.

Rosler's Marxist analysis approach undermines the legitimacy of documentary as a truth carrier and conveyor. It reveals the hidden political agenda that serves the interest of the classes in power. Therefore, it precisely points out why the men on the Bowery are no longer interested in immortality and stardom, why both photographers and audience have lost interest in the propaganda-suggestive documentary, and why "[t]he exposé, the compassion and outrage of documentary fueled by the dedication to reform has shaded over into combinations of exoticism, tourism, voyeurism, psychologism and metaphysics, trophy hunting--and careerism... aloofness has given way to a more generalized nihilism" (ibid., p. 72).

To extend Rosler's points, I would argue, a photographer's subjective selections are confined and/or influenced by the dominant value system of a society--the ideology. In any society, certain ideas are more influential than others, just as certain cultural forms predominate over others. Such influential ideas are, then, screened through and well sustained and accepted as truths while the rest are repressed as false. Truth is, therefore, "produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint (Sekula, 1984)." Different societies have different regimes of truth, and their "general politics" of truth, "that is," explained Michel Foucault, "the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements (1980, p. 131-133)." Ideas, cultures, and histories cannot be seriously understood or studied without their force, or more precisely, their configurations of power, also being studied. A truth to one society may well sound like a lie to another.¹¹ What is commonly circulated by cultural discourse and exchange within a culture are varied "representations" that are true only to that culture, to certain classes, or certain social positions.

¹¹ For instance, Chinese government has regarded the June 4 event of 1989 as "a counter-revolutionary riot," students regard it as "a democratic movement" and the Western media call it "June 4 massacre."

The crisis of representation -- from a postmodernist perspective

Postmodern photographers challenge the photograph as a reliable, or even rational system of representation, and deny its aesthetic intent. Influenced by contemporary French theorists such as Derrida and Barthes, Rosler (1989) argues that photography is not a reliable way of documenting reality. Since "reality" is always represented to us through symbol, it can never be known "as it is." According to Rosler, the photographs are powerless to *deal with* the reality that is totally comprehended-in-advance by ideology. She regards the supposed realism of reform-minded photographers like Dorothea Lange, Margaret Bourke-White, and the Walker Evans of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* as a hoax. Documentary photographers in the postmodernist era are sore pressed to defend the very activity of image making. They have been challenged with the questions like: Why photograph? What is left to photograph? What does a photograph convey? Are we any longer able to see the world except as reified image (also see Jussim, p. 5)?

Postmodernism is a highly contested construct whose very nature is impossible to define in a unified, monolithic fashion (Harms and Dickens, 1996). It means different things in different artistic media (Grundberg, 1991) and in different disciplines (Dickens, David R. & Andrea Fontana, 1994). Anthropologists George Marcus and Michael Fisher (1986) have perhaps provided the best definition of the term as it is used in contemporary social inquiry (also see Dickens and Fontana, 1994). They define postmodernism as a "crisis of representation," where traditional standards no longer apply.

Postmodern methods of social inquiry mainly comprise two common sources: semiotics--studies of signs--initiated by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, and poststructuralism--a theory of crisis of signification--for which Derrida is primarily responsible. It is in front of these two methods that the truth value of documentary has suffered vital challenges.

Roland Barthes revised Saussure's structuralist approach of studying meaning, and set up a systematic model by which the negotiating, interactive idea of meaning could be analyzed (a poststructuralist approach). At the heart of Barthes's theory is the idea of two orders of signification: denotation and connotation. Denotation refers to the commonsense, the dictionary meaning of a sign (this

was where Saussure primarily worked on), while connotation moves the interpretation of meaning towards the subject or intersubjective. Denotation is tangible, but connotation is not unambiguously stated in a picture.

In 1982, Rothstein expressed his strong conviction about photography when he wrote for the dictionary *Contemporary Photographer*: "A photograph means the same thing all over the world and no translator is required. Photography is truly the world's most powerful universal language for transcending all boundaries of race, politics, and nationality" (Walsh et al. 1982, p. 879). Such a universal language conviction has long been a myth of photography and it still has wide circulation. According to Rothstein's logic, a photographers' perceived meaning would be automatically taken by readers as whatever it is. But is that possible? In other words, does a photographer have control over the interpretations of meaning of their photographs? Let's see what semiotics would say about that.

Again, look at Rothstein's *Skull*. The denotation here refers to what we see in the photograph: the skull, sunlight, cracked soil, shadow, the grayscale colors, and the way these elements are combined. The connotation, on the other hand, refers to the possible generalized conclusions we want to draw such as misuse or mismanagement of land, and poor government agricultural policies, and so on and so forth. One of the possible and strong connotations *Skull* brings about is drought. Readers could easily decode the meaning of the four signs in the picture in such a logical sequence: the strong sunlight, whose strength was suggested by the dark skull shadow (connoting lack of rainwater) caused the parched land; the parched land (connoting no harvest of anything), in turn, caused the death of the steer; and the steer (connoting life) suggested that the local people were leading a hard life because they had lost their steers both as their labor force and as their food, that they were suffering the same hardship the steer had suffered, and that they were facing the threat of death.

Readers may well agree with what a photograph denotes, but they would often get quite different connotations out of the same photograph. Connotation is largely arbitrary, and culturally bound. Because connotation works on the subjective level, we are often not made consciously aware of it, and, thus, we often easily read connotative values in a picture as denotative facts.

To be more specific, a photograph is iconic (in an icon the sign resembles its object in some way, it looks or sounds like its referent), and not arbitrary, so the paradigms involved are less well specified than they are in a verbal syntagm. Photography works metonymically, rather than metaphorically, and so does not draw attention to the "creativity" involved in its construction. That is why it appears more "natural" and unbiased than a drawing. Documentary photographs operate under a hidden sign marked "this really happened, see for yourself." The selection of a photographed incident to represent or symbolize a whole complex chain of events and meanings is a highly ideological procedure. But, by appearing literally to reproduce the event as it really happened, documentary photographs suppress their selective/given, neutral structure in favor of that which is beyond question, beyond interpretation: the "real-world" (see Hall, 1973).

Poststructuralism, with Derrida, goes a step further. It develops one of Saussure's insights: that language consists of a system of relations among arbitrary signs whose meanings are defined by the differences that set them apart from one another. Deconstructionism is, then, a method for revealing the radical contextuality of all systems of thought.

First, according to the poststructuralists, our perceptions only tell us about what our perceptions are, not about the true conditions of the world. Therefore, a photograph itself is a message about the event it records, which, at its simplest, decoded, means: "I have decided that seeing this is worth recording" (Berger, 1980). The only "objective" truth that photographs offer is the assertion that somebody or something was somewhere and took a picture. Everything else, everything beyond the imprinting of a trace, is up for grabs (Sekula, 1984).

Second, nothing is ever fully present in signs because to use signs at all entails that the encoded meaning is always somehow dispersed, divided and never quite at one with itself. We are born into a language system that preexists our birth and that, from the moment we are born, supplies us and indoctrinates us with all of its givens. We are able to think only in the terms of that language system. Because language is the very air we breathe, we can never have a pure, unblemished meaning or experience at all. Furthermore, audience help create the meaning of the image by bringing to it his or her own cultural background, experience, attitudes emotions or misunderstanding. Decoding is as active and

creative as encoding. The encoded, intended meanings of communications could be bypassed or resisted. Photographers, authors, or other sign makers do not control their meanings through their intentions. There is no way to arrive at the "ultimate" meaning of anything (Grundberg, 1991). Meaning continues to unfold beyond the arbitrary closure which makes it possible in the interaction and negotiation between audience and the image. There is always something 'left over.'

Third, what is commonly circulated in the cultural discourse and exchange within a culture are representations. In a lucid commentary on Foucault's poststructuralist writings, Dreyfus and Rabinow succinctly summarize the theoretical basis of all poststructuralist methods: "The more one interprets the more one finds not the fixed meaning of a text, or of the world, but only other interpretations. These interpretations have been created and imposed by other people, not by the nature of things. In this discovery of groundlessness the inherent arbitrariness of interpretation is revealed" (1982, p. 107). Since very little of our knowledge of people, events, social relations and powers arises directly in our immediate experience, we rely on the constructed factual statements in various documentary forms, including documentary photography, for our ordinary knowledge, and as our truth resources. To an even greater extent, we only experience reality through the pictures we make of it, and our experience is governed by images. Next to these images, firsthand experience begins to retreat, to seem more and more trivial. As such, any claims for objectivity and truth are made in relation to representations of representations, that is, frames of reference, not reality.¹² Here, the boundary between the subjective self and the objective world is effaced, so are those between image and reality, the original and copies, and signifier and signified. "Postmodern culture is thus characterized by a contradictory mix of similarities and differences" (Harms and Dickens, 1996, p. 211).

Contrary to the truth notion of documentary photography, postmodernist art, including postmodern photography, rejects all essentialist and foundationalist claims to truth. Instead, postmodernists claim that thought and experience are determined by codes, discourses, formats, models and so on; knowledge is not an accurate representation of an external and objective order, instead, it is the

¹² Such repetition and reworking is equivalent to what Edward Said has referred to as the citational nature of Orientalism (Said, 1980).

result of experiencing the world in terms of particular cultural code or model (Ibid.). They accept the world as an endless hall of mirrors, as a place where all we are is images (Grundberg, 1991). "There is no place in the postmodern world for a belief in the authenticity of experience, in the sanctity of the individual artist's vision, in genius or originality. What postmodernist art finally tells us is that things have been used up, that we are at the end of the line, that we are all prisoners of what we see" (Ibid., p. 384). A photographer can only copy what is already a copy, and cannot hope to transparently reflect anything real. As a result, cultural texts are reproduced and recombined in different contexts. A classic rock song is transformed into an ad for an automotive oil filter; a famous Elliott Erwitt picture made for the French office of tourism in the 1950s was re-staged by Erwitt himself to serve as a television commercial for Visa Card. Postmodern artist Sherri Levine's works appropriated from Andreas Feininger and Elliot Porter's pictures of scene of nature that are utterly familiar well explains such postmodern phenomena. To Levine, the presence that such photographs have for us is the presence of *déjà vu*, nature as already having been seen, nature as representation. Levine's works suggested that Barthes's description of the tense of photography as the "having-been-there" be interpreted in a new way (Crimp, 1990).

Postmodernism is a loose construct that affiliates many theories from multi-disciplines. In 1987, Chafee and Berger put forward seven criteria of theory evaluation in their *Handbook of Communication Science*, which include explanatory power, predictive power, parsimony, falsifiability, internal consistency, heuristic provocativeness, and organizing power. According to these criteria, postmodern theories have a great explanatory power because they provide plausible explanations for the phenomena of representations in humanities, social sciences, and even in some natural sciences like physics, but they predict no future events. They can be, and have been proved false from a variety of angles (see Harms and Dickens, 1996; Andrea, 1985; Sekula, 1984). They are complex, internally inconsistent, and generate few new hypotheses. Postmodern theories are well organized under the term postmodernism, but they resist the extant knowledge.

Postmodernism shows several limitations in deconstructing documentary photography, and other modernist arts. First, it subverts the intended meaning and functioning of documentary images, but goes no further. The so-what question is not answered. Second, it claims that creativity is no longer possible in

image-making, but all those postmodern approaches such as appropriation, recontextualization, repetition, pastiche, anamorphism, or simulation betray a faltered confidence in straightforward expression, thus contain a flicker of modernism by indirectly demonstrating individuality and originality (two hallmarks of modernism). The postmodern artists do not merely destroy but also try to re-create experience. Third, postmodern critics claim we are so contaminated by received images that we cannot even imagine new ones. It is true that we may become tired of cliché, even infuriated with them, but this is very different from saying we are contaminated, as if we could never recover to see clearly again. Fourth, to say that we can only experience reality through pictures is to define reality as "that which has been pictured." This viewpoint doesn't allow for the ways in which our individual experiences can contradict the pictures we see. It doesn't acknowledge that we don't necessarily *believe* in all representations equally--that we can doubt their validity or reject them as false (Andre, 1985). Fifth, insufficient attention to the social context of communication results in a curious paradox for the postmodern perspective. As "On the one hand it is vehement in its antihumanist assertion that autonomous subjectivity has given way to decentered selves. On the other, it posits an autonomous, active audience" (Harms and Dickens, 1996, p. 221). finally, by meticulously describing the glittering surface of mass media, images and commodities, postmodernism has neglected their historical and political-economic contexts in which they are inscribed. "Postmodern media studies are themselves a symptom of the very postmodern culture they seek to analyze" (Ibid.). Their lack of consideration of these larger structural contexts also greatly inhibits the postmodernists' otherwise genuine efforts to address contemporary struggles for greater freedom and equality. That is why we can hardly reinvent documentary photography that takes into account the real truths about late capitalist society that are contained in them. If we reject the postmodern critics' totalizing and debilitating assumptions, "For it is precisely those truths of which traditional social documentary--which is what is usually thought of as political photography--is ignorant" (Andre, 1985, p. 16). As Andre observed, today, "postmodernism and documentary represent two extreme and opposed practices: one, happily naive about its status as picture, as representation, claims to transparently reflect reality; the other proclaims that its status as picture is all that it can reflect" (Ibid.).

Summary and conclusion

Documentary photography has been studied from, though not limited to, the above four perspectives. Despite the fact that each perspective studies nothing more than image production, image as a text, and readers, each perspective has raised some important questions about the decline and the survival of documentary.

By knitting a delicate web of meanings, positivist perspective aims at clarifying the meaning of the terms such as documentary photography, objectivity, and propaganda, that we so often use but don't take the trouble to find out what they really mean to us. Positivism also looks at what causes the images and what effect the images have on audience.

Social constructivism calls our attention to the organizational and other influential forces behind the image production and interpretation, and reminds us that photographic images provide no value-free witness. "Photographs are constructions selectively made by photographers employing their medium to make sense of their society" (Trachtenberg, 1989).

According to the postmodernist perspective, the aura of originality, authenticity and uniqueness of documentary and other art work has been greatly depreciated and diminished through the proliferation of copies in the age of mechanical reproduction (Benjamin, 1969). The most important and essential question it raises has been: Why still photograph? Western society is a 'camera culture,' and documentary photographs play a big part in the process of forming opinions and changing attitudes. This may in part explains why documentary is still kicking today in spite of its ritualistic nature.

But is it going anywhere? How can it be reinvented, as Allan Sekula expected? This is where the Marxist perspective comes in. Sekula was definitely right. "[s]ocially conscious American artists have much to learn from both the successes *and* the mistakes, compromises, and collaborations of their Progressive Era and New Deal predecessors" (1984, p. 236). We need a political critique of the documentary genre. And we must understand that each photograph is a result of the interrelationships between the institutions, practices, conventions, and socio-political circumstances under which it was

created and distributed. Socially constructed truth both reveals and suppresses facts. It is politically compromised and ideologically determined.

Traditional documentary photographers aimed to showing what was wrong with the world and to persuade their fellows to take action to make it right. But by the 1950s, a new generation of documentary photographers like Robert Frank began to take a different stance: they looked at the fabric of the affluent society and although they found it full of holes they concluded that it was not up to them to mend it. They felt bound by no mission whatever except to see life clearly. Robert Frank seemed to have violated the canons of the documentary tradition. His gritty images of the American scene --with their emphasis on the grim, often odd, and always joyless routine of daily life -- presented no victims, identified no social problems, and called for no social reform. He showed not one half of Americans to the other half but show Americans as a whole for themselves to reflect. Frank's documentary style brought great influence on the contemporary and later documentary practitioners such as Lee Friedlander and a group of documentary photographers on the West coast including Allan Sekula, Martha Rosler and Fred Lonidier. In his documentary reinvention manifesto 'Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary,' Sekula (1984) argued "for an art that documents monopoly capitalism's inability to deliver the conditions of a fully human life, for an art that recalls Benjamin's remark in the *Theses on the Philosophy of History* that 'there is no document of civilization that is not at the same time a document of barbarism.'" (p. 255). Instead of mainly showing his documentary photographs to gallery and museum audience, Marxist photographer Lonidier has been often exhibiting his union work to the photographed union members in union buildings as a material of self-education, aiming at a political understanding of the decadence of the capitalist system. Nevertheless, compared to the concurrent practice of postmodern photography represented by Cindy Sherman and Sherri Levine, Lonidier's work has never got as popular and well accepted by the mainstream American photography.

Reinventing documentary is a hard, if not an impossible, task. First, historically, documentary has been born out of depression, and gained popularity, audience, and attention when the economic and political realms were falling apart. The logical extension of this concept might be that misery and struggle make good pictures. Nevertheless, this has been no longer the case in the affluent American society.

Documentary photography today has almost totally lost its economic ground on which it grew and developed. To some extent, documentary is parasitic to hard time.

Second, in spite of the repeated academic endeavor of absolving the term propaganda from its the negative connotations, the term has been so contaminated that it has been thoroughly devalued in the American culture. For audience, as well as documentary photographers, to be aware of the complexity of objectivity that is involved in documentary photography and to recognize the potential positivity of propaganda is one of the biggest challenges that face the reinvention of social documentary.

Third, no longer trusted for its presumed objectivity and transparency, no longer the reliable guide to visual "truth," documentary photography in the postmodern era has had its authority devastated by technologies like digital imaging, which allows for seamless doctoring to a photograph and makes the doctored photograph look original, the mass media, which "corrupt messages, cultivate sensationalism, hold ideas to contempt, practice hidden censorship, inundate us with trivial news, and cause genuine information to vanish" (Octavio Paz, quoted in Johnson, 1997), and mass advertising, whose photographic strategy is to disguise the directorial mode as a form of documentary (Jussim, 1989; Crimp, 1990). Documentary today has lost its legitimacy as a truth conveyor.

Fourth, sympathetic to the postmodernist doxa of recycling existing images, which delegitimizes the pleasures we get from photographs *because* they are taken, Sekula's *Aerospace Folktales* (1973) and *This Ain't China: a photonovel* (1974), Rosler's *The Bowery in two inadequate systems* (1975), Lonidier's *The health and safety game* (1976), and many other contemporary radical documentary photographers' work have been deprived of visual pleasure in image reading because of their emphasis on the sole transmission of political information. Such documentaries are not so easy to gain visual impact among the public as Lange's *Migrant Mother* and Rothstein's *Skull* did.

Finally, gone are the days when radical Marxist points of view about revolution could win even a tiny market in the American culture because of the comprehensive decline of the practice of communism in ex-Soviet Union, East European countries, and, to a great extent, in China since 1989. Documentary has lost its political momentum in today's American art scene.

Of all the different uses to which photography has been put, none has been so influential as the strong documentary tradition that has existed from the earliest days, with photographers recording the pattern of life and death in distant lands and among different societies. The documentary photographer has brought the world to the feet of the armchair traveler and the stay-at-home anthropologist. As Andre said: "Photography satisfies our need to know about the world that lies outside our own narrow experiences --a curiosity that exists no matter how jaded we think we are, no matter how many photographs we've seen" (1985, p. 15). Nevertheless, today's documentary serves more as a medium that feeds the nostalgia of truth telling than as a truth carrier. Instead of recording history, it is most likely that documentary will soon become history itself.

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**DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC JOURNALISM:
INTEGRATING VISUAL AND VERBAL MEANING**

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DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC JOURNALISM: INTEGRATING VISUAL AND VERBAL MEANING

ABSTRACT

Public journalists argue that the content of stories generated through public journalism is different from that generated by traditional reporting methods. This prompts the question: If the content of stories generated through public journalism methods is different, and design is driven by content, doesn't it follow that design for public journalism will be different than design for non-public journalism?

Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, this study used the principles of design to explore how public journalism projects have been visually communicated in newspapers practicing the public journalism genre, and how it differs from the visual communication of non-public journalism.

The findings seem to support the idea that there is little if any difference in the way public journalism is presented when compared against non-public journalism. It also raises the question of visual journalists' understanding of public journalism philosophy and their integration into public journalism newsrooms. It calls visual communication the "next frontier" for public journalism.

DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC JOURNALISM: INTEGRATING VISUAL AND VERBAL MEANING

INTRODUCTION

Historically, design and photography have taken a backseat to reporting and editing in newsrooms; in many cases the visual communication of stories has been little more than an afterthought. This is less frequently the case now as editors recognize that design is not just "decorating" a page but the visual communication of meaning, and therefore, must be derived from the content. Public journalism practitioners and theoreticians argue that the content of stories generated through public journalism methods is significantly different from the content generated by traditional reporting methods. If the content of public journalism stories is truly different, and design is driven by content, doesn't it follow that design for public journalism will be different than design for non-public journalism? This is a key question that visual communicators and public journalists must address if the final product is to truly integrate written and visual meaning.

Since 1989 when the first public journalism project was produced in Columbus, Ga., much has been written about the philosophy of public journalism, its goals, and techniques. Individual public journalism projects have been analyzed and compared against these goals and philosophies, and also compared to traditional journalism to see what, if any, difference exists (Riede, 1996). However, no published study has yet focused on the visual communication of public journalism in print media.

The purpose of this study is to explore how public journalism projects have been visually communicated in newspapers practicing this genre, and how it differs, if at all, from the visual communication of non-public journalism. Through content analysis, textual analysis, and telephone interviews, this phase of a two-part study examined the design of

public journalism projects at six newspapers; four practicing public journalism and two practicing non-public journalism.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A thorough search of both scholarly and professional publications revealed only tangential references to issues of visual presentation in public journalism. If photographers and designers are to be truly integrated into the newsrooms that are practicing public journalism, their questions and concerns about this approach must be addressed.

Inherent in all definitions of design is the idea that design is not simply aesthetic, but that form carries a content of its own. "Design – the integration of verbal and visual elements into a coherent whole – must begin with the mission of bringing meaning to a reader" (Miller, 1992). The literature laments the use of designs that overemphasize appearance to the detriment of communication (Hurlburt, 1977, 126; Rand, 1985, 239; Arnold, 1969; Ames, 1989; Barnhurst, 1994). Moen (1989) defines "information" as consisting of both form and content.

Originally, design developed in response to the mechanical needs of page make-up. Column rules were used to hold type in place; headlines were confined to one-column widths because of the column rules. With the advent of photocomposition, these and other problems were eliminated and so were the design conventions they necessitated. Today, the story content and needs of the reader drive design (Turnbull & Baird, 1975, 5). It is the consensus in design theory that form is inextricably involved with message meaning. The form, or design, of news changes the perception of its content (Barnhurst & Ellis, 1991). If newspaper page design is truly to be used to communicate meaning derived from the story's content, and if public journalism has changed that content, then design must change to reflect that.

Previous research into design characteristics and how they affect readership can be used by designers when considering public journalism pages. Most of this research is

concerned with attracting and holding readers, or conveying the credibility of the information. Research has shown that page design is crucial in attracting readers to a newspaper's contents (Wanta & Danner, 1996; McCombs, Mauro & Son, 1988). Besides content, the most important elements to readers were organization, typography, attractiveness, photography, and color (Pipps, 1985). Story location on section fronts is the most important predictor of readership; amount of space ("the bigger the better") was also a key variable (McCombs, Mauro & Son, 1988, 28). This same study also found stories with pictures had higher readership than those without.

Readership tended to fall off if a story jumped, and large pictures attracted readers better than small ones (Bain, 1980; Huh, 1994). Several studies used a camera to track eye movement. In two studies, researchers found that readers typically begin with the dominant photo (Polansky, 1988). Further, readers showed a greater ability to recall information from a story with a large picture than with a small picture or no picture (Huh, 1994). More photographs and larger graphics increased attractiveness (Wanta and Gao, 1994), and larger photos may provide an agenda-setting effect (Wanta, 1988). Readers processed 80 percent of the artwork and 75 percent of the photos in newspapers (Garcia & Stark, 1991).

Other research determined that decorative elements in graphics do not diminish information gain (Kelley, 1989; Tankard, 1987), in fact, readers expect infographics to provide information (Pasternack and Utt, 1990). Graphs and charts can improve the communication of information by displaying a large amount of data concisely in a form that attracts reader attention (Kelly, 1989, 632), and the combination of text and a graphic produces better recall than what can be attributed to the sum of the two (Griffin & Stevenson, 1994).

Turning now to public journalism, we find that there are as many operational definitions of public journalism as there are media outlets that practice it. For a conceptual definition that speaks to the developing theory of public journalism Rosen has said: "Journalism can and should play a part in strengthening citizenship, improving public

debate and reviving public life" (Rosen, 1994). While there is no consensus on what public journalism is, or even on what to call it, the premise which all agree on is that it is the duty of the press is to improve the quality of public life by fostering public participation and debate. Some of the methods and techniques public journalists are best known to have used toward this goal include: holding focus groups and citizen advisory boards to discover issues important to people; eschewing conflict framing of stories and "expert" sources; seeking to clarify the "core values" behind opinions and underlying causes of problems; focusing on solutions and success stories; and taking an active role in promoting discussion among citizens with public forums, town hall meetings, etc. Public journalism also incorporates aspects of agenda-setting theory, which says that one of the effects of mass communication seems to be to direct the audience's attention to certain problems or issues (Severin & Tankard, 1992, 207). By conducting focus groups and taking polls of what the audience considers important before reporting on issues, public journalists make a self-conscious effort to avoid agenda-setting by the media or others, including government and special interests.

There is some indication in the public journalism literature that design is beginning to be considered, usually in passing reference. Occasionally, specific examples are described. Most of these examples rely on tried-and-true design elements that have been shown to increase readership – infographics, summary boxes, and graphics with mobilizing information, etc. A few are novel ideas, such as the *Charlotte Observer*'s use of blank spaces under the names of candidate's who refused to answer the questions posed by citizens. "This was a powerful use of space, charged with visual meaning," said Rosen (1996).

A recent "toolbox" publication by the Pew Center for Civic Journalism devotes a section (pages 23-32) to discussion of design issues – more than any other report so far. In it, the Pew authors said:

"Other tools essential to civic journalism are reporting and graphic techniques that help readers and viewers see their

roles as active participants . . . Aiding the interactive connections to readers and viewers are all the graphic tools of newspaper designs . . ." (Schaffer & Miller, 1997, 25).

Among those tools, it lists "About the Series" boxes, grids, Q&As, graphs and charts, maps, forms and coupons, full-pages and spreads, and project indexes. This is one of the first publications to discuss design at length and offer examples. Perhaps the design of public journalism will become more unique as more reports delve into this issue.

Some research even alludes to the value of visual communication to public journalism's goals. The most "depth" in the *Wichita Eagle's* "The People Project" came in the graphics, said one reviewer: "the graphic goes beneath the surface, personality-based coverage of politics typical of traditional journalism" (Riede, 1996, 21). This same study calls the "innovative use of the 'core values' graphics" . . . the project's most promising attempt at depth in coverage" (Riede, 1996, 29).

The audience is the focus for both public journalism and design, especially now that design is no longer tied to mechanical needs. Research has shown that one way to increase readership is through better design. If public journalism aims to bring people back to the newspaper by creating a community conversation, visual journalists and word journalists will need to work together to achieve this goal. Likewise, in order for public journalism to successfully bring its message to the audience, the final product must truly integrate written communication with visual communication, which carries meaning of its own.

In order to test the overarching research questions, RQ1: How are public journalism projects visually communicated in newspapers that practice this genre? and RQ2: How does the visual communication of public journalism differ, if at all, from that of non-public journalism? seven hypotheses regarding design elements were developed based on readership predictors derived from the literature. They are:

H1: Public journalism designs will start on section fronts more than non-public journalism designs.

H2: Public journalism packages will be given more space than non-public journalism packages.

H3: Public journalism stories will be designed with shorter jumps than non-public journalism stories.

H4: Public journalism designs will use larger illustrations and photographs than non-public journalism designs.

H5: Public journalism designs will use larger graphics than non-public journalism designs.

H6: Public journalism designs will include more visual points-of-entry than non-public journalism designs.

H7: Public journalism designs will use more boldface, display type, and other forms of highlighting than non-public journalism designs.

Placement above the fold was not measured because it was considered likely that news value was a greater consideration than design, and that the decision would be made by non-designers. Use of color was not considered because it was thought to be more a technical constraint than a design decision.

METHODOLOGY

To understand how public journalism is communicated visually in newspapers, six newspapers in two circulation sizes were sampled. Two large-circulation non-public journalism newspapers were compared against four public journalism newspapers (both large and small circulation sizes); two small-circulation public journalism newspapers were compared against two large-circulation public journalism newspapers; and two large-circulation public journalism newspapers were compared against two large-circulation non-public journalism newspapers. This allowed comparison of the presentation of public journalism against non-public journalism two ways, and also allowed comparison of the presentation within the genre of public journalism. To maximize comparisons, medium-size papers were not included. It was postulated there would be little difference, for reasons like resources, between medium and large papers, but the difference would be greater between small and large papers.

Purposive sampling was chosen over randomization for several reasons.

Approximately 200 newspapers have experimented with public journalism since the first project in 1989. For this study's purposes, that represents only 13 percent of the 1,533 total daily newspapers in the country. A census of 200 is not large enough to make random sampling and projection to the population meaningful. Purposive sampling with newspapers stratified by circulation size and chosen for their experience with the public journalism approach better suits the purpose of comparing newspapers within the public journalism genre to see how they vary in presentation, and of comparing public journalism newspapers to non-public journalism newspapers.

The six newspapers were initially chosen for a different study by the Pew Center for Civic Journalism. The basis for this decision included the level of experience each paper had with public journalism philosophies and techniques, and Pew's director's and assistant director's assessment that these particular papers were doing some of the more interesting work within the public journalism genre. Because of their early entry into the movement, the philosophies and practices of public journalism at these papers are assumed to be more highly developed than those of papers just beginning to practice public journalism. Therefore, the visual communication of public journalism stories should have achieved a deeper level of consideration in the newsroom. Also, by experimenting with the visual communication of public journalism for a longer period, the practices of these newspapers should be more finely tuned and may represent the direction other newspapers will take.

The two large newspapers not practicing public journalism were chosen by this researcher to represent specific regions of the country and for their similarities in circulation size and reader demographics to the public journalism newspapers. Also, their editors have stated their opposition to the public journalism approach either in the literature or by personal communication.

The differences in design style across the different newspapers were taken into account in the textual analysis. The public journalism newspapers were sampled using their

latest public journalism project; the non-public journalism newspapers were sampled using their latest series that was either on a similar topic as the public journalism series in its comparison paper, or, if that was not feasible, a project that ran as a series of similar magnitude. Sampling time was one week. All news and feature articles dealing with the subject in the A section and metro/local news section were analyzed.

The characteristics of each newspaper sampled are:

- *San Francisco Chronicle*: 489,238 circulation. Public journalism project is on commuter transportation. Ran December 1996 and January 1997.
- *Charlotte Observer*: 239,173 circulation. Public journalism project is the fall 1996 election. Ran September and October 1996.
- *Philadelphia Inquirer*: 469,398 circulation. Compares with the San Francisco paper's circulation. The *Inquirer* has been an outspoken opponent of public journalism. Although the editorial page editor recently instituted some public journalism techniques (Eisner, 1996), the news department has not done any public journalism projects. Topic is change in a suburban neighborhood in the past 50 years. Ran February 1997.
- *Omaha World-Herald*: 232,360 circulation. Corresponds with the *Charlotte Observer's* circulation and includes one non-public journalism paper from a western region of the country, which compares with San Francisco in the public journalism category. The *World-Herald* has not done public journalism, according to the city editor. Topic is the fall 1996 election. Ran September and October 1996.
- *Wisconsin State Journal*, Madison: 86,585 circulation. Public journalism project is the election. Ran September and October 1996.
- *Binghamton (NY) Press & Sun-Bulletin*: 68,919 circulation. Public journalism project is the community's economic problems. Ran September 1996.

Content analysis followed the methods recommended by Krippendorff (1980) and Babbie (1992) with two independent coders. Using Scott's Pi, an average reliability estimate was calculated at .98 coder agreement. The range of reliability estimates for all

variables was 1.0 to .6; an aggregate was calculated because a 10 percent overlap of coder reliability checks was five newspaper issues for an N of 41. Disagreement on even one variable drives the numbers down to .6.

Textual analysis followed the methods of Stuart Hall (1975). Text and visual design elements were closely "read" to evaluate whether, and in what ways, the presentation of public journalism represents a significantly different approach from other forms of journalism.

Interviews using open-ended, unstructured questions were conducted in telephone calls with the designers of the projects. Interview methods followed those described by Denzin & Lincoln (1994) and Lindlof (1995) using an interview guide.

One-way analysis of variance was used on interval data; chi-square was used on the categorical data. Since some chi-square cells contained less than five, correlation was also used to determine probability levels.

Because of the small number of newspaper issues analyzed ($N = 41$) and the fact that little was previously known about the topic under consideration, the significance level for this exploratory study was set at .10 rather than the usual .05.

RESULTS

Of the seven design characteristics measuring readership predictors, five were either significant ($p < .10$) or had means in the direction hypothesized (H1: Start on section fronts; H3: Shorter jumps; H5: Larger graphics; H6: More points-of-entry; H7: More highlighting). Interestingly, two variables showed significance ($p < .10$) in the opposite direction hypothesized (H2: More space; H4: Larger photos and illustrations). That is, the non-public journalism newspapers scored better on these design measures than did the public journalism newspapers. The influence of small newspapers was then controlled for on these two variables to determine whether limited resources at small papers influenced downward the scores of public journalism newspapers overall. Small newspapers did have an effect since the two hypotheses became non-significant.

In addition, these same hypotheses were used to compare small public journalism papers against large public journalism papers, and to compare large public journalism papers to large non-public journalism papers. When significant, these results are presented in the discussion..

For statistical tables, please see the Appendix.

DISCUSSION

The hypothesis that public journalism designs will start on section fronts more than non-public journalism (H1) was highly significant for public journalism newspapers at $p < .001$. All the public journalism stories started on section fronts while 62 percent of non-public journalism stories did so. Textual analysis showed that Omaha's non-public journalism election coverage in September started on inside pages in the local section. One possible explanation could be the length of time until the election, thus, the issue did not receive prominent display until closer to election day. As the election neared, Omaha did move its coverage to section fronts. However, even in September, the public journalism stories on the election in two newspapers (Charlotte and Madison) always started on section fronts. It could be the difference is due simply to different editors' judgments regarding news value. However, interviews with the Wisconsin editor revealed a sense of the relative unimportance of this election in the community:

"The fall 1996 election didn't have a lot of statewide races. We did have a congressional race but I wouldn't say it was hotly contested by any means. We did some on the presidential race, but I would say there was not a lot of activity in Wisconsin on the presidential front. . . There weren't any real big issues in the fall congressional races. The one big issue was fairly arcane and narrow (shared revenue formulas) and did not really trip the trigger of most voters" (Hoot, 1997).

Given this background, it seems public journalism may indeed have influenced placement on section fronts of stories whose news value was deemed relatively unimportant. It is interesting to note the similarities between public journalism and non-public journalism newspapers – they were dealing with the same story (the election), at the same time (September), and one public journalism newspaper admits the story was relatively unimportant yet still gave it prominent

display. This seems to point to a possible influence, whether latent or manifest, of public journalism philosophies on the decision-making process.

The hypothesis regarding the use of more boldface, display type, and other highlighting (bullets, rules, etc.) in public journalism than in non-public journalism (H7), was also supported ($p < .05$). Public journalism used more forms of highlighting than non-public journalism when all circulation sizes were compared and also when only large circulation sizes were compared ($p < .10$). It appears that designers may be using the technique of highlighting to attract readers to public journalism projects, showing a commitment to effective design for public journalism. There was no significant difference between small and large public journalism stories' use of highlighting, which is as it should be if all size public journalism papers are practicing the genre in the same way.

The hypothesis that public journalism designs will use shorter jumps than non-public journalism (H3) was supported with significance at $p < .01$. Public journalism papers' mean jump length was 35 column inches; non-public journalism papers' mean jump length was 68 inches. However, this result may be misleading. It is more meaningful to control for small papers, which generally have less editorial space than large papers, therefore, less room to devote to long jumps. In that comparison, there was no significant difference between large public journalism papers and large non-public journalism papers on jump length. Large public journalism papers showed a tendency to use shorter jumps than large non-public journalism papers (mean jump length = 53 column inches for large public journalism; 68 column inches for large non-public journalism).

The difference between large public journalism and large non-public journalism jump lengths can be understood through textual analysis. Although the difference was not significant, both non-public journalism papers (Philadelphia and Omaha) tended to write fewer but longer stories than public journalism papers. Philadelphia wrote only one story per issue and jumped it over as much as two or three pages. Jump lengths were the highest recorded – between 60 and 85 column inches. The large public journalism papers were more likely to break stories into

smaller sidebars. One possible conclusion for the lack of a significant difference in jump lengths is that designers at public journalism newspapers are not designing for maximum readership of public journalism projects. They may be so entrenched in their conventions that they have not considered the idea that public journalism requires a difference in the way it is designed in order to reflect the difference in its content. Perhaps they have not thought deeply about how the goals of public journalism can be achieved with design. If this is the case, training sessions may be in order to stimulate visual journalists to think integratively about how design can contribute to public journalism's goal of creating a community conversation. At the very least, it may call for the establishment of new design conventions which take into account the needs of public journalism, such as standing graphics and guidelines on sidebars versus long jumps.

Two measures showed means in the direction hypothesized but were not statistically significant, including H5: Public journalism designs will use larger graphics than non-public journalism. There was no significant difference in the size of public journalism graphics and non-public journalism graphics, but the means were in the direction hypothesized. Public journalism graphics showed a mean of 90 square inches; non-public journalism graphics a mean of 52 square inches. However, this hypothesis did become significant ($p < .05$) when small papers, with their smaller newsholes and limited resources, were removed from the equation. Large public journalism papers showed significantly larger graphics ($p < .01$) than small public journalism papers. The mean for small papers was 23 square inches versus a mean of 138 square inches for large papers. The small public journalism papers' use of smaller graphics seems likely due to space constraints and possibly smaller staffs, as well. It is perhaps fairer and more accurate to look at comparisons of only large papers. Then, the hypothesis that public journalism papers will use larger graphics than non-public journalism papers becomes significant ($p < .05$). Large public journalism papers showed a mean size of 138 square inches versus large non-public journalism papers' mean size of 52 square inches. In future studies, it might be prudent to control for space constraints by counting number of graphics rather than measuring size in square inches.

Textual analysis of public journalism papers' graphics supports this interpretation. The Madison paper rarely used graphics. When it did, the graphics were more design elements than true graphics: boxes for briefs, meetings lists, series information, mobilizing information, and interactivity rather than charts, graphs, and infographics. It was not just the public journalism stories which used few graphics but the entire paper. Both designers interviewed mentioned a small staff as the reason – two designers for a paper of 86,000 daily circulation, 160,000 Sunday. Binghamton used significantly more graphics than Madison – six of seven issues had graphics with more than one graphic each day. There is even a standing graphic, "What do you think?" designed for views from readers. Other graphics are content driven, summarizing results given in stories. However, all graphics tend to be small. The editor interviewed said there is a commitment to graphics and, if they are small, it "has more to do with newshole than artists' time" (Spero, 1997). The San Francisco paper, while a large public journalism paper, also tended to use small graphics, similar to the small public journalism papers. The assistant art director's assessment of the graphics' size was:

"I think giant megagraphics are just as daunting as a lot of text. We do occasionally do a large graphic but we try to save it for places where it is really useful . . . It is also a question of resources. We do a lot of smaller daily graphics and the large ones take some planning" (Yule, 1997).

Five of seven issues analyzed in the San Francisco paper contained graphics, but all were relatively small. Overall, the size of the San Francisco paper's newshole seems incongruent with its circulation size. It appears to have the news space closer to that of a medium-size paper than a large paper of circulation size similar to the *Charlotte Observer*. Charlotte and Philadelphia, both large papers (one practicing public journalism and one not), had many graphics, most of them quite large. The Omaha paper was another exception to the big-paper/big-graphic generalization. Although it is a large-circulation paper with a corresponding newshole, it used few graphics and then used them fairly small. Most of Omaha's graphics were maps or boxes rather than charts or graphs. This may be a design choice since textual analysis also revealed a preference for small photographs in the rest of the paper. Alternately, it may reflect smaller staffs of visual journalists.

The reasons behind this finding and the next one will be discussed together since they appear related and statistical analysis revealed similar conclusions.

While the hypothesis that public journalism designs will include more visual points-of-entry than non-public journalism (H6) was not significant, it had means in the direction hypothesized. Public journalism papers used more visual points of entry than non-public journalism (public journalism mean = 4 points-of-entry; non-public journalism mean = 2 points-of-entry). There was, however, a significant difference between large public journalism and large non-public journalism papers' use of points-of-entry ($p < .01$) with public journalism scoring better.

Textual analysis revealed similar results as above in H5 (larger graphics); papers that showed more and larger use of design elements such as photos and graphics also used more visual points-of-entry such as pullquotes, readouts, blurbs, teasers, refers, logos, etc. Charlotte and Philadelphia showed the most sophisticated use of design elements, followed by San Francisco and Binghamton. Omaha and Madison showed the least use of design elements proven to increase readership. Thus, it appears that use of some design elements, such as larger graphics and more points-of-entry, can be traced to a combination of individual design style and resources (size and experience of graphics staff, size of newshole) rather than to public journalism.

The remaining two hypotheses were significant but in the opposite direction hypothesized. H2: Public journalism designs will be given more total square inches of space than non-public journalism was highly significant ($p < .001$) with non-public journalism papers' designs giving their series' more total square inches than public journalism papers' designs (non-public journalism mean = 226 square inches; public journalism mean = 100 square inches). The hypothesis was still supported in the opposite direction ($p < .10$) when small papers were dropped and only large public journalism and large non-public journalism designs were compared. There was also a significant difference between large and small public journalism papers' designs ($p < .01$) with large papers devoting more total square inches of space to their series'. This last finding is consistent with the idea that large papers have more space overall.

However, further studies would be needed to determine why non-public journalism papers devote more space to their series.

This is a curious measure. The design literature consistently states that devoting more total square inches of space to a story is a strong visual cue that the story is more important than stories which receive less space. Studies reported in the design literature also show that long jumps are a negative predictor of readership, that is, the longer the jump, the less likely it will be read. Don't these two findings conflict at some point? How much space overall should be devoted to a story in order to signal importance to readers, yet at which point does that story become too long for readers to be able to (or want to) finish? The literature is silent on this. It would seem there is a point of diminishing returns for the length of a story, a point at which length ceases to convey importance to readers and instead conveys a sense of the laborious nature of reading the entire story. Shouldn't there be some "golden mean?" No final conclusions can be made about amount of total square inches devoted to a story, and length of jumps until these conflicts are resolved.

The other measure that non-public journalism scored significantly better on than public journalism was H4: Public journalism designs will use larger illustrations and photos than non-public journalism. This hypothesis was significant in the opposite direction hypothesized ($p < .01$) with non-public journalism papers tending to use larger illustrations and photos than public journalism papers (non-public journalism mean = 168 square inches of photos and illustrations; public journalism mean = 30 square inches of photos and illustrations). It remained significant for non-public journalism ($p < .05$) when small papers were dropped and only large public and large non-public journalism papers' photos and illustrations were compared. Thus, space constraints cannot be considered as the reason.

This result may possibly speak to the difficulty of photographing and illustrating the conceptual topics that public journalism tends to address. Issue-oriented stories such as crime and the economy may be harder to photograph using public journalism principles of real people instead of officials than more concrete issues such as an election or the changes in a

neighborhood. These particular public journalism topics may be harder to portray visually than typical non-public journalism stories. Comparisons of photos and illustrations accompanying similar conceptual stories, such as crime and the economy, in public journalism papers with the same topics in non-public journalism papers would be needed to test this hypothesis.

Findings regarding the size of photos and illustrations were non-significant when small and large public journalism papers' photos and illustrations were compared, thus it appears that public journalism is being practiced consistently across circulation sizes with regard to size of photos and illustrations.

The overall conclusions are mixed about whether design for public journalism is different than for non-public journalism, and whether public journalism designers are making good use of elements shown to increase readership. Three of the seven hypotheses showed significant differences in the visual display of public journalism vs. non-public journalism (presentation on section fronts, use of highlighting, larger graphics¹). Yet, on four of the measures there was

¹ The results are reported for large public journalism vs. large non-public journalism. This is the more meaningful measure since it appears that including small papers in the equation distorts the results because of the smaller papers' decreased newshole.

either no significant difference between public journalism and non-public journalism (more points of entry, shorter jumps²), or non-public journalism scored better on use of design that increases readership (more space, larger photos and illustrations).

This nearly even split – with one variable (more space) being a questionable measure at best – seems to support the idea that there is little if any difference in the way public journalism is presented when compared against non-public journalism.

One explanation for these results could be that visual journalists do not fully understand the philosophies and goals of public journalism. For instance, if designers comprehended fully the goal of creating a community conversation, they may begin to think of ways to use design to draw more readers into that conversation. An increased use of design elements that have been

shown to predict increased readership, such as those used as variables here, would seem a logical conclusion.

An insight into designers' understanding of public journalism was revealed in the qualitative component of this study. In the interviews, designers were asked whether they designed differently for public journalism than for non-public journalism. Designers at two papers said yes, public journalism design was different than non-public journalism design, and designers at the other two papers replied no, there was no difference. Interestingly, the "no difference" responses came from designers whose papers did not have training sessions on the concepts and techniques of public journalism, or who did not include visual journalists in those sessions. Both "yes" responses came from newspapers whose designers did participate in public journalism education sessions.

² This measure also uses the more meaningful comparison that excludes small papers because the smaller newshole distorts the results.

An understanding of public journalism via training could be one explanation for some of the findings in this study, and the designers' perceptions regarding the difference in designing for public journalism reinforces this idea. It would appear intuitive, and the answers to these questions seem to confirm, that fundamental grounding in the philosophies, goals, and practices of any new approach, such as public journalism, helps to predict the success of that approach.

Also, one of the designers interviewed offered a related insight that is worth mentioning. The designer, who wished to remain anonymous, complained that too many journalists at the paper felt like they had been ordered to do public journalism with no opportunity for discussion or input. This newspaper, coincidentally, did not offer training sessions in public journalism. The designers said, "If they're really going to get people on board to do this and do this well, there has to be that discussion. There are numerous ethical challenges in doing this, and they need to at least be explored, as do the possible pitfalls."

Both these insights have implications for editors contemplating introducing public journalism into their newsrooms.

This study also compared large and small papers within the public journalism genre to see if the visual communication of public journalism was being practiced consistently across circulation sizes. Since there were no significant differences when small and large papers were compared within the public journalism genre on all three variables where comparison was meaningful³ (presentation on section fronts, more highlighting, points-of-entry), it points to the beginnings of consistent presentation across all circulation sizes of public journalism papers. Thus, it appears that the visual communication of public journalism is being practiced similarly at different size papers. Whether the reason is related to individual designers being more

³ The other measures (shorter jumps, larger graphics, more space, larger photos and illustrations) were not considered meaningful because small papers with smaller newsholes would be the likely explanation for any findings of significant differences.

conscious of design principles that increase readership, or to a heightened awareness of the importance of public journalism stories and thus the desire to increase readership through effective design remains undetermined.

In addition to the seven hypotheses relating to design elements as readership predictors, two hypotheses regarding photographs were tested in an earlier phase of this study (Coleman, 1997). That phase explored how well the elements of visual communication conveyed the goals and philosophies of public journalism. The results of the two hypotheses regarding photographs are worth repeating here because of the interesting topics for discussion generated. In that study, it was hypothesized that public journalism photographs would use fewer managed photo opportunities than non-public journalism, and that public journalism would use more photographs of citizens and "real people" than candidates or experts. Although neither hypothesis was supported, the means were in the direction hypothesized and the interviews yielded some interesting topics. The non-significant findings may be due to the number of cases sampled (N = 41), but it is important that for both hypotheses the means show that public journalism stories

used fewer photographs from managed "photo ops" (mean = .4 for public journalism vs. mean = .5 for non-public journalism), and also used more photos of citizens and "real people" than candidates or experts (mean = 3 photos for public journalism vs. mean = 1 photo for non-public journalism).

This finding can perhaps be explained by trends in photojournalism quite apart from public journalism. The declining use of photo opportunities is nothing new, nor is it unique to public journalism. For some time now, photojournalists have discussed the manipulative nature of managed "photo ops" and become more reluctant to photograph prearranged publicity events.

Textual analysis revealed both small public journalism papers used all photos of real people from non-managed photo sources, as did one large public journalism paper, San Francisco. Since Binghamton's series was on the local economy and primarily covered the citizen's forums, and San Francisco's series was on commuter woes, it is perhaps not surprising that they were able to find photo subjects that did not involve officials and experts. It is more unusual for a newspaper covering an election to avoid photos of candidates, yet that is just what the Wisconsin paper did. It achieved this goal mainly by running only one photo over all seven issues – it featured citizens at a forum. That six stories had no photos at all is inconsistent with design readership predictors. In contrast, Charlotte, which also covered the election in public journalism fashion, made heavy use of managed photo ops of candidates – a finding that is counter to what would be expected in ideal public journalism. The Charlotte design director indicated in a telephone interview that the amount of campaign-trail photographs they shot were "not nearly as many as five years ago . . . An effort was made to take photos of real people, but that makes things harder" (Moses, 1997). The convention of candidate photographs for election coverage apparently remains strong, even at papers that have embraced public journalism principles better than most. The design director's acknowledgement that finding photos of real people is "harder" than following the ritual of attending photo opportunities is a candid insight.

Comments by designers at Binghamton, Madison, and San Francisco raise other important topics. All said their photographers tried to avoid managed photo opportunities in favor

of real people, however, photo ops could not be avoided entirely. The former graphics editor at the Madison paper provided some interesting insight on the thinking:

"The photo staff hates dull pictures. . . With 'We the People,' the premiere events are these town meetings. They don't make particularly good photos. They are often held in the capitol, which has miserable lighting, and it's a sea of people sitting around. The marching orders are we will shoot that, but we would probably try to limit that to one. Otherwise, we would have photos and stories about journalists from different media getting together to organize 'We the People' " (Hoot, 1997).

This is interesting reasoning when compared with Binghamton's daily use of five or six big photos of local people in meetings. No doubt photographers' aesthetic values are quite different from readers', who seldom find photos of themselves or friends aesthetically displeasing or dull.

The idea of using photos of real people that are not the result of "photo ops" orchestrated by those seeking to manipulate publicity goes to the heart of public journalism philosophy and reflects a conscious effort to avoid agenda-setting effects. The deliberate use of this type of photo is a sign that public journalism's goals are beginning to be translated into practice. Since the means are in the direction hypothesized, it is possible that a larger sample may yield more significant differences.

CONCLUSION

This study was designed to explore how public journalism is visually communicated in newspapers that practice this genre, and to compare how it differs, if it all, from visual communication of non-public journalism. One of the controversies regarding public journalism is whether it is any different from non-public journalism – perhaps it is old wine in a new bottle, as some have said. Public journalism projects have been analyzed and compared against the goals and philosophies of public journalism, and also compared to non-public journalism to see what, if any, difference exists. However, no published study has yet focused on the visual communication of public journalism in print media. This study has used the emerging theory of public journalism, which claims a significantly different content than non-public journalism, and the theory of content-driven design, which says that visual meaning must reflect the written

content, to examine the question prompted by these theories: If the content of stories generated through public journalism methods is different, and design is driven by content, doesn't it follow that design for public journalism will be different than design for non-public journalism?

Seven hypotheses measuring design characteristics were used to determine whether visual journalists were effectively using design principles shown to increase readership in public journalism projects. The results were mixed; three measures showed significant differences between the visual communication of public journalism and non-public journalism, but four measures did not, or else showed that non-public journalism made better use of design that increases readership. These findings seem to support the idea that there is little if any difference in the way public journalism is presented when compared against non-public journalism. This study's results do, however, point to the beginnings of consistent presentation across all circulation sizes of public journalism papers.

It should be noted that not all design principles can or should be considered in terms of their relationship to public journalism. Newspapers have an individual style that does not change even if content changes. Other considerations are at work here besides the desire to design for content. One such consideration is the need to develop an easily distinguishable "visual identity" for the paper, one which makes it instantly recognizable to readers. Another consideration is the time constraints inherent in the daily production of news; redesigning the paper for every different story content is not feasible for many news stories. However, most public journalism stories are projects that usually have been planned in advance; for many of these, design considerations should be part of the planning. This study attempted to take these issues into consideration by triangulation with textual analysis and interviews to balance quantitative results.

The two variables that resulted in hypotheses significant in the opposition direction (non-public journalism fared better) should be further explored in future studies. The use of larger photos and illustrations in non-public journalism may be due to the difficulty of illustrating the typically conceptual topics of public journalism. Whether these issue-oriented stories are harder to portray visually should be examined. And, the idea that more important stories should be

given more space as a visual cue to readers needs to be resolved with the conflicting design principle that shorter jumps predict higher readership.

The biggest problem with visually communicating the different content generated by public journalism seems to be with visual journalists' fundamental understanding of public journalism itself. Confusion over and even unawareness of public journalism principles and goals seems to be a basic, underlying reason why the visual communication of public journalism is not significantly different from non-public journalism. If photographers and designers were not included with reporters and editors in public journalism training sessions, it would seem that the role of visual journalists has not achieved parity with that of word journalists. It appears the visual communication of public journalism stories is still somewhat of an afterthought. Journalists may need to examine their attitudes regarding the importance of the communication of news. Is design still really considered little more than superficial decoration despite reviews of public journalism projects that describe graphics as "the most promising attempt at depth in coverage" (Riede, 1996, 29)? The way public journalism is now visually conveyed gives credence to criticisms that public journalism is not substantially different from other forms of journalism.

Regardless of whether the reasons proposed or some other explanations are responsible for the lack of differentiation between the presentation of public journalism and non-public journalism, visual communication should be the next frontier for public journalism to address. As shown by the paucity of literature, both scholarly and professional, reporters and editors have been the focus of the efforts for public journalism thus far. There are no guidelines or tips for photographing and designing for public journalism the way there are for reporting and editing. Examples of reporting and writing for public journalism are covered in great detail; public journalism photography and design are mentioned in passing, if at all. Until visual journalists are incorporated into discussions on public journalism, written and visual meaning will not be truly integrated. Visual content that differs from written content can lead readers to very different impressions about the

substance, tone, and quality of the story even before they have begun to read it. Design of public journalism needs to convey the new "public agenda." With this shift in focus, new demands are placed on designers and photographers to communicate these ideas visually. New techniques of design and photography may need to be developed; old techniques of attracting and holding readers' attention will need to be used to their greatest advantage. If public journalism aims to create a community conversation, it must first engage the entire community of journalists – visual journalists included – in a conversation about the best ways to achieve this goal.

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TABLE 1
PUBLIC JOURNALISM VS. NON-PUBLIC JOURNALISM
 Design Variables

χ^2 & r results of design characteristics by type of story					
Variable (percent with yes values)	N	Public Journalism stories	Non-Public Journalism stories	r value	P value
Section fronts	41	100%	62%	.55****	.001

ANOVA results of design characteristics by type of story					
Variables	N	Public Jour. stories (Mean)	Non-Public stories (Mean)	F value (d.f.)	P value
Total col. inches, entire package (col. inches)	41	100	226	15**** (1,39)	.000
Jump length (col. inches)	35	35	68	10** (1,33)	.003
Size of photos, illust. (sq. inches)	32	30	168	9.4** (1,30)	.005
Size of graphics (sq. inches)	32	90	52	1.5 (1,30)	.22
Points of entry (no. of items)	41	4	2	2.1 (3,39)	.15
Highlighting	41	2	1	3.1* (1,39)	.09

ANOVA results of public journalism characteristics by type of photo					
Variables (no. of items)	N	Public Journalism photos (Mean)	Non-Public Journalism photos (Mean)	F value (d.f.)	P value
Non-managed photos	35	.61	.45	.95 (1,33)	.34
Photos of real people	35	3	1	.68 (1,33)	.42

Significance: * p < .10 ** p < .05 *** p < .01 **** p < .001

TABLE 2
SMALL VS. LARGE PUBLIC JOURNALISM
Design Variables

χ^2 & r results of design characteristics by size of newspaper				
Variable (percent with yes values)	N	Small PJ paper (Mean)	Large PJ paper (Mean)	r value
Section fronts	28	100%	100%	no r value

ANOVA results of design characteristics by size of newspaper					
Variable	N	Small PJ paper (Mean)	Large PJ paper (Mean)	F value (d.f.)	P value
Total package (col. inches)	28	49	151	11 (1,26)***	.003
Jump length (col. inches)	25	19	53	14 (1,23)****	.001
Size of photos, illust. (sq. inches)	19	21	36	.4 (1,17)	.53
Size of graphics (sq. inches)	19	23	138	8 (1,17)***	.01
Points of entry (no. of items)	28	3	5	1.5 (1,26)	.23
Highlighting (no. of items)	28	2	3	1 (1,26)	.32

ANOVA results of public jour. photo characteristics by size of paper					
Variable (size in square inches)	N	Small PJ paper (Mean)	Large PJ paper (Mean)	F value (d.f.)	P value
Non-managed photos	22	.7	.6	.2 (1,20)	.65
Photos of real people	22	6	1	2.1 (1,20)	.17

Significance: * $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$ **** $p < .001$

TABLE 3
LARGE PUBLIC VS. LARGE NON-PUBLIC JOURNALISM
Design Variables

χ^2 & r results of design characteristics by size of paper					
Variable (percent with yes values)	N	Large PJ paper (Mean)	Large Non-PJ paper (Mean)	r value	P value
Section fronts	27	100%	62%	.49***	.01

ANOVA results of design characteristics by size of paper					
Variables	N	Large PJ paper (Mean)	Large Non-PJ paper (Mean)	F value (d.f.)	P value
Total package (col. inches)	27	151	226	3.4* (1,25)	.08
Jump length (col. inches)	22	53	68	1.7 (1,20)	.21
Size of photos, illust. (sq. inches)	25	36	168	5.5** (1,23)	.03
Size of graphics (sq. inches)	24	138	52	6.5** (1,22)	.02
Points of entry (no. of items)	27	5	2	3.1* (1,25)	.09
Highlighting (no. of items)	27	3	1	4* (1,25)	.06

ANOVA results of photos with public j. characteristics by paper size					
Variables (no. of items)	N	Large PJ paper (Mean)	Large Non-PJ paper (Mean)	F value (d.f.)	P value
Non-managed photos	26	.6	.5	.5 (1,24)	.50
Photos of real people	26	1	1	.02 (1,24)	.90

Significance: * p < .10 ** p < .05 *** p < .01 **** p < .001

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Visual Design for the World Wide Web: What Does the User Want?

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INTRODUCTION

How will the World Wide Web influence communication and the evolution of design? Is interactive multimedia an entirely new category of communication with new design principles? There are many interactive multimedia platforms, but the Web is currently the most universally used. This paper examines the nature of Web design and takes a look at what people really want and what they will use. The design principles from academic and professional literature were applied to produce a World Wide Web site for AM 850 WRUF, a talk radio and news station in Gainesville, Florida.

After the site was designed, interviews with five focus groups were conducted. Hix and Hartson (1993) suggest that every development project, especially new or unfamiliar projects, should incorporate focus groups to determine users' needs and characteristics. Also, since the Web is a new medium, focus groups can aid in determining the issues that are important to users.

Since the study is qualitative, the author makes no claims of generalizability. But it is reasonable to suggest that the results of this study would be useful for any radio stations that have a site on the Web, or intend to have one in the near future. In addition, general findings regarding interactive design may be useful for any Web designer.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

With the introduction of interactive multimedia technology, new communication and design issues are emerging. Whenever a new medium is invented, various elements in society are affected. This paper focuses on the issues that designers and other communicators must struggle to confront in order to adapt to newly created user needs. These issues include: the effect of novelty factors; the need for

collaboration; the computers' lack of design skills; an understanding that typography is more than just letters; and the prevalence of the "do it yourself" hype.

Novelty Factors

One of the most powerful aspects of hypermedia is that it is a multiple medium. Graphic designers may be well-versed in the design principles for print, but the hypermedia designer is venturing into relatively new territory and must learn how to integrate audio-visual and computer media into a cohesive whole (Cotton and Oliver, 1993; Hogarth, 1995; Fahnrich and Hanne, 1994; Hodges and Sasnett, 1990).

Creating a Web site differs from desktop publishing and designing other graphical user interfaces. One important difference is that the Web design never goes to print. The designer is able to see immediately how the document will look in final form, at least on the designer's monitor. This is known as WYSIWYG--"what you see is what you get." Unfortunately, each monitor is different--the "recipient's" monitor and browser may display differently, and consistency is out of the designer's hands (Curle, 1997; Holtzman, 1996; Centaur Communications, EXE, 1997; PC Magazine, 1997).

Most media have long-standing design principles to rely on--film, video, animation, radio and sound recording and graphic design all have established conventions. Yet, because of the novelty of computer-based multimedia, there are few widely recognized design principles (Cotton and Oliver, 1993; Hodges and Sasnett, 1990; Fahnrich and Hanne, 1994; Lynch, 1994; Lynch and Horton, 1997; Marcus Smilonich, and Thompson, 1995). Interface design guidelines can ease the communication process and help to set user expectations. (Galitz, 1992; Vertelney, Arent, and Lieberman, 1990; DiNucci Giudice, and Stiles., 1997).

Many people are discovering that a customized World Wide Web (WWW) site is the ideal way to uniquely express information to Internet users around the world. What people need to remember is that design is as important on the computer screen as on paper. Technical ability should support and enhance interactive work, but should not overpower other important aspects of design.

Collaboration

Andrew Zolli, senior Internet technologist at Siegel & Gale, summarized the need for collaboration in multimedia: "The era of the Webmaster is dead. There is now a multidisciplinary era dawning. And the quality of design is directly proportional to the quality of dialogue between the disciplines" (McMillan, 1995b, p. 133).

Interface design draws concepts and inspiration from such diverse fields as computer science, audiovisual media, music, theater, animation, industrial design, architecture, electrical engineering, cognitive psychology, anthropology, philosophy, human-factors and ergonomic research, audiovisual design, and the graphic and editorial design of conventional paper publications" (Lynch, 1995; Blattner and Dannenberg, 1992; Aldersey-Williams, 1996; Rijken, 1994; Marcus et al., 1995; Laurel, 1990; Barker, 1994; Gygi, 1990).

Computers Don't Design

Many Web surfers are in awe of the capabilities of new technology, yet software cannot automatically select the correct orientation or colors and then apply them properly. As Mok (1993, p. 3) stated: "Just as guns don't kill people, computers don't design." Computer programs may supply libraries of shapes, organizing structures and color templates, but the quality of the final design will depend upon the experience, intuition, creativity, and skill of the developer (Horton, 1994; Erenshateyn

al., 1994; Schneiderman, 1987; Gennarelli, Henley, Kelleher, Moody, Schrager, and Warwell, 1995; Keogh and Cook, 1997).

Type: Not Just Letters

As computer systems continue to advance, type design is experiencing "democratization" (Labuz, 1993, p. 168). Clement Mok (1993, p. 1) emphasized this point:

The tangible things that used to differentiate us from other professions have been turned into everyday commodities. In a sense, the computer is a great equalizer--it allows the untrained and unskilled to create things that, on the surface, look and smell like design.

Anyone interested in visual design for the computer interface should become familiar with the rich, complex history of type. Typefaces have evolved and design styles have changed over time, but certain fundamental principles have remained (Marcus, 1991). The most critical factor in deciding which typeface to use should be legibility and readability. If type just looks "cool," but can't be read, the entire communication process is disrupted (Horton, 1994). Typographers and designers have a responsibility to communicate as clearly and appropriately as possible (Carter, 1993).

"Do It Yourself" Hype

Most businesses have been attracted to the "do-it-yourself" hype which makes Web design sound easier than tying your shoelaces. Other businesses falsely believe that desktop publishing skills can be transformed easily to skills necessary for interface design (Callaway, 1995) or that anyone who knows Hypertext Markup Language (HTML) can design a Web site (Paulson, 1995).

When designing for the Web, primary concerns involve improving the way people use computers to communicate. Aesthetics are important, but they should be secondary considerations and should support the overall communication (Laurel, 1990; Norman, 1988). Galitz (1992, p. 10) found that

people usually remember "the one thing that went wrong, not the many that go right, so problems achieve an abnormal level of importance." A well-designed user interface will empower the user and ease the navigation process (Hix and Hartson, 1993; Marcus et al., 1995).

METHODOLOGY

Focus group members were recruited from various classrooms and departments at the University of Florida using the snowball method. This method "uses a person, usually an informant, as a source for locating other persons from whom a type of data can be generated, who then refer the researcher to other persons, and so on" (Lindlof, 1995, p. 127).

Using a suggestion by Gomoll in Laurel (1990), the researcher looked for users who had the same experience level as the typical potential user for the product, the WRUF AM 850 Web site. The only qualification was that participants were between the ages 18 and 49 and had at least some familiarity with computers and the World Wide Web.

According to Morgan (1988), if the researcher begins to anticipate what will be said next in an interview, then the research is done. The decision regarding the number of focus groups and participants was based on whether any new ideas were still being produced from the focus groups (Morgan, 1988). The researcher conducted five focus groups, with a total of 40 participants.

All of the participants were college students at the University of Florida. Of the 40 participants, 57.5 percent were undergraduates, juniors or seniors, and 42.5 percent were graduate students. Seventy-five percent of the participants were female, which may reflect the nature of the courses in which the students were recruited.

The participants were all within the radio station's target age range for the Web site, 18 to 49. The majority, 71 percent, were ages 18 to 24; 10.5 percent were 25 to 29; 10.5 percent were 30 to 34; 5.2 percent were 35 to 39 and 2.6 percent were 40 and above.

Each focus group had between six and 10 people. This number allowed a small enough group for people to make a personal contribution, yet large enough to provide diverse answers. The moderator also was able to get a clear sense of each participant's reaction to a topic (McCracken, 1988).

To determine some of the key issues in online design, the researcher reviewed the literature. The literature suggested some themes to be explored, which were incorporated into four broad questions for moderating the discussion. Within each question, there were floating prompts and planned prompts available to assist the researcher if further clarification was necessary (McCracken, 1988).

The level of moderator involvement was moderate. Since there was little current literature on the topic, the study was exploratory, and the intent was to gain knowledge from the participants' perspectives. This approach allows the moderator to "probe more deeply when necessary, skip over areas that have already been covered, and follow completely new topics if they arise" (Morgan, 1988, p. 57).

RESULTS

Given that hypermedia lacks long-standing design principles to follow, the focus group interviews provided rich information for World Wide Web design in general and for the WRUF AM 850 site in particular. Many of the findings from this study confirm the information from the literature. In a few cases, the results of the study contradicted the literature or may have raised an issue that was not mentioned.

The uses and gratifications theory applies to many of the findings from this study. This perspective shifts the focus of inquiry from the effects of the media on receivers to assessing how people use the media to gratify their needs. Individual use and choice and an active audience--prominent characteristics of World Wide Web use--are also important components of the uses and gratifications perspective (Fisher, 1978; Severin and Tankard, 1992; Rosengren, 1974). The key implications of the results are discussed below.

Interaction

The most common theme from the focus group members was the need for World Wide Web sites to be highly interactive. These participants wanted active and aggressive Web sites. One of the most important differences between print design and Web design is that with the Web, the user is an active participant. Not only were these participants active, but this study suggests the need for radio stations to discover what users really want and what they will use.

Radio stations should realize the highly competitive nature of the Web. If one site doesn't grab a user, another one will. Participants in this study had a fickle nature, and they were attracted to the sites that happen to satisfy their current needs and desires. From a uses and gratifications perspective, radio stations would greatly benefit from knowing the users' motivations for and the satisfactions derived from using Web sites.

Multiple Medium

As discussed in the literature, interactivity is the primary advantage of the World Wide Web, and one of the most powerful aspects of hypermedia is that it is a multiple medium. The focus group participants recognized that the World Wide Web has the capability of integrating text, illustration,

photography, animation, sound and databases. At some point in the focus group interviews, each one of these elements was suggested. Thus, multimedia should be used to optimize its characteristics. This finding also fits the uses and gratifications model--new communications technologies offer the user more complex choices for media consumption (Williams, Strover, and Grant, 1994).

Appeal To Senses

Participants in this study echoed other ideas from the literature--Web designers should take advantage of the full range of human senses to facilitate communication. Participants indicated that sound remains a crucial aspect for the World Wide Web, but radio stations also need to develop strength in the visual arena. These participants indicated a desire for flashy graphics, illustrations and animations.

They also seemed to realize that the Web has the capability of acting as a database. Station managers and their Web designers need to consider how information will be organized on the Web site, for immediate purposes and archival resources. Stations that are planning a Web site may want to consider hiring a computer programmer to provide a search engine on the site. Designers would be helpful in organizing the information and the look of the database, but as this study suggests, a team of people would be beneficial.

For this prototype, the designer worked without the assistance of a computer programmer or editor. Working with a team may have produced better results. As suggested in the literature, Web design should be a highly collaborative process. This study also indicated that the designer should be involved in the conceptual planning stage. Participants seemed to crave conceptual explanation behind the design, which can only be attained if the designer is an integral part of the strategic thinking.

Good Maintenance

An important aspect of interactivity on the World Wide Web is the level of maintenance. Radio stations and other organizations need to be aware that a poorly maintained site may do more harm than good. Focus group participants expressed frustration with Web sites that are "old" or not fully functional. As noted in the literature, users typically will remember things that went wrong and problems may become of paramount importance. If stations choose to have a Web site, managers need to be certain that there is adequate staff support for updating and maintaining the Web site. Given the participants' frustration with non-functional aspects of the site, teasers that are "under construction" should be a rare and short-lived occurrence. As Norman (1993), Callaway (1995) and Gennerelli et al., (1995) suggest, telling the users a site is under construction may only add to the level of frustration.

The participants in this study indicated that they do not want old news or old design styles. When choosing to go online, stations need to be prepared to devote a significant effort to maintaining the site. Focus group members indicated that the "currency" of the site reflects the station's competency level. Hinman (1995) and Centaur Communications Ltd., (1997) reiterate this concept--to maintain the users' attention and respect, the site has to be fresh. For the Web designers, this means staying on top of the latest styles in design and being prepared to redesign individual pages or entire Web sites as necessary and appropriate.

The immediate nature of the Web is similar to working at a daily newspaper with strict deadlines. Web designers must be flexible and fast. With the trendy nature of the medium, the Web designer can expect to have increasing demands for immediate creativity.

On the same vein, designers need to be certain to edit their work carefully. These participants seemed quick to pick up on any errors or typos, and this can reflect poorly on the radio station. The final design should pass through a number of eyes before going on to the Web. At the same time, stations

should acknowledge that they are human and can make mistakes. Users should be encouraged to help correct any errors if necessary. This can allow them to feel as if they are part of the process, rather than just recipients of information. Focus group participants who found errors expressed satisfaction in knowing that they contributed to the Web site.

E-mail Capability

As an extension of the concept of interactivity, online radio stations should certainly include e-mail capabilities which was the most popular aspect of the Web site. Most participants in this study indicated that direct interaction with the program hosts and radio station employees was desirable.

Web sites with e-mail have the potential to transform media communication into more of a two-way dialogue. Radio stations may no longer transmit information to listeners in a traditional mass communication sense. Rather than being passive receivers of information, users have the opportunity to become active contributors, a key component of the uses and gratifications perspective. When users interact with Web sites, the information becomes much more interesting and valuable to them. In addition, these participants said they would be more likely to return to a site if there are opportunities for interaction.

If stations are going to provide e-mail, they should attempt to validate the users' time and effort. These focus group participants indicated a strong desire to provide worthwhile feedback--positive and negative--to the station employees and talk show hosts. They also seemed to value a quick response to their suggestions.

This type of communication seems to have benefits for both the station and the users. As one participant pointed out, the station manager is often so caught up in the big picture that he may be unaware of immediate effects on the audience. These participants indicated that they would be more

likely to become loyal to stations that respond to their needs. On the Web, stations have a more immediate grasp of listeners' opinions, and may be able to meet their needs more closely. These participants also indicated that the Web may allow stations to gather demographic information more easily from their users.

E-mail allows station managers to maintain close communication with the individual listener, which may help to establish station loyalty. In the long run, the quality of the station programming may improve. E-mail also has the potential to benefit the Web designer. Designers can receive immediate feedback from the user, which would allow them to design a site more closely tailored to the users' needs. All of these findings closely relate to the uses and gratifications perspective. Users will seek Web sites that are successful in fulfilling their gratifications.

Local Identity

When discussing e-mail, these focus group participants also expressed an interest in communicating with station employees. Providing this type of communication would allow local residents to feel a sense of place. Along the same lines, these participants indicated that they would have liked to see more connection to the University of Florida, with the Gator logo or other symbolic graphics. McCloud (1994) states that users tend to identify with designs or icons. Thus, while the Web may offer an opportunity to branch out beyond the local community, designers need to create a delicate balance between attracting a national audience and maintaining a local one.

Daily Intrigue

To increase interactivity, stations need to devise aspects of the site that offer daily intrigue. Weather reports, horoscopes and news promotions were suggested by these focus group participants.

These requests correspond with what DiGiorgio (1996) found--that users seek information such as facts for daily living and in-depth coverage of hard news. Participants also indicated that integrating sound or other interactive elements would be especially helpful. Based on the participants' reactions, these elements would help to maintain old users and to gain new ones.

Content

In many ways, the World Wide Web is an entirely different type of medium. The distinctions between radio and other media are no longer as clear as they once were. An obvious example is the visual nature of the Web. For an audio medium like radio, an entirely new approach must be taken.

Talk Shows

The unique nature of radio was apparent at different times during the focus group. For example, radio talk show hosts typically are not shown on air. With the World Wide Web, stations have the opportunity to present talk show hosts as more than just a voice personality. After viewing photographs of talk show hosts on the prototype, most participants in this study indicated that they enjoyed having the photos available. One participant stated:

I always wanted to know what Jim Bohannon looked like. I'd never seen him. And so, I liked having pictures. Because that's one thing when you listen to a station, and you have this image of what somebody looks like, so I liked the pictures of the personalities.

Some participants enjoyed the photos, but admitted that it was a risk to show them. One participant stated:

When you put a radio personality, they're, they're completely different than what they look like, or who they'd be in day-to-day life. Oh, I remember the first time when I found out what Neil Diamond looks like, and I was really upset.

As this study indicates, some of the "mystery" of the radio hosts is lost when their picture is displayed on the Web site. Radio stations may want to approach this concern with caution and discretion, so as not to disappoint the user. One method for dealing with this concern might be to offer the user the option to view the photograph.

Next to e-mail, the talk show host biographies were the second most popular element of the Web site. These participants indicated that the profiles were both educational and interesting. By reading the profiles, these participants could find out more information on the program and the talk show host. In some ways, the profiles eased the barrier between entertainer and audience. They also helped to promote the station and its programming, an element that focus group participants found important.

Program Schedule

The Internet offers a new opportunity for radio stations to provide program information for the audience, in terms of time and content. The most common request from these focus group participants was a program schedule. This request corresponds with a finding by DiGiorgio (1996), that online users are seeking information, such as program listings.

In some ways, a program schedule empowers the listener and may also benefit the station. If listeners are informed of upcoming programs, they have a greater opportunity to plan to listen to certain programs. An overall program schedule would encourage "interest" listening in addition to "time" listening. In addition, this study indicates that these participants may not be as loyal to a particular talk show host as they are to a certain topic. An overall schedule would allow flexibility, and listeners could pick and choose the topics they are interested in.

The World Wide Web, in some ways, is similar to the VCR. While some listeners may not be able to catch a "live" program, they might be able to read the transcript on the Web. This finding also

corresponds with information from the literature. DiGiorgio (1996) found that a motive for using radio stations online is to listen to programs that users can't catch in real time.

Aggressive Design

The focus group participants also indicated that the radio station needs to market programs aggressively to both "old" and "new" listeners. In an age where information overload is a problem, attracting new audience members may take some work. These participants indicated a need for ample justification to take the time to listen to a new program.

Bells And Whistles

Some responses from the participants differed from the suggestions in the literature. For example, the literature indicated that "bells and whistles" should be avoided if they served no purpose. In fact, Norman (1988) referred to all the glitz as "creeping featurism." But, "creeping featurism" appears to be desired by users, rather than being a disease as the literature suggests. At this time, Norman (1988) was referring to the hypermedia that was available then. Seven years later, Hawkins (1995), Gennarelli et al. (1995) and Callaway (1995) related "creeping featurism" to the World Wide Web, indicated a need for Web sites without "glitz," "jazz" or "bells and whistles." For example, as noted in Chapter Two, a participant in a study by Gennarelli et al. (1995, p. 61) stated: "Sometimes there is too much 'glitz,' and it gets in the way of substance."

The participants in this study were attracted to and impressed by bells and whistles regardless of their purpose. Participants seemed to want the "ooh aahh" factor in the Web design. This was true for all elements of the site, including text and image.

It may be that elite designers are out of touch with the audience for Web sites. It also may be that researchers are applying old standards to this new medium. For example, it may not make sense to put unnecessary bells and whistles in a magazine, but the World Wide Web is a new medium with a different audience. If WRUF AM 850 is seeking a younger audience, they may need to make a "glitzy" appeal.

The literature suggested that Web designers should have a solid grounding in traditional media design standards. But, this study indicates that prior knowledge of design concepts from other media may actually hinder the designer's ability to create appropriate Web design. Designers must maintain an open mind and realize that the Web is a new medium with its own, evolving design standards. These participants indicated a desire for bright colors, trendy graphics and fun animations, regardless of their practical relevance. If this is the case, designers need to brush up on their animation skills or hire people trained in this field.

These participants also implied that they have more respect for visually intensive sites that stay current with the latest trends and technology. On the World Wide Web, unlike other media, technical ability seems to be as important as other aspects of design. For example, one participant stated:

I don't know if this is feasible, but some of these new Java scripts or maybe interactive things, like little animations and things like that, I mean they're not, they don't really serve any great purpose, except they're kind of just like, bells and whistles on the page that just make it look neat. I mean having something like a little animated icon, or something that would, I mean it's not like it would. I mean, you don't need it, but that could just add one more thing. And the person seeing this page would be like, 'Oh this person is up on all the hot new technology.

Along the same lines, some of these participants requested more fancy fonts. They indicated an increasing boredom with the default text in HTML. These users were asking for type to be expressive and meaningful, not just readable and visually attractive.

The participants in this study also recognized that using different fonts would require making text into a graphic, and this would require extra download time, something they also did not desire. Until more fonts become universal on browsers, this may continue to be a problem. Web designers must strike a balance between keeping download time to a minimum and creating original, exciting designs. This concept arose in the focus group interviews and was also a concern in the literature. At this point in time, this is an immense challenge, but with technology improving at such a rapid rate, it may not be long before this difficulty is eased.

Of course, not all participants in this study found a need for complex graphics, and age may be a factor in the desire for "fancy gadgets." For example, almost all of the graduate students in this study indicated a desire for information over entertainment, whereas the undergraduates wanted visual stimulation. Radio stations and their designers will need to examine closely who their target audience is before integrating bells and whistles into the Web site.

One solution to meeting varying demands might be to create different versions of a Web site. For example, the site might offer a text-only option. The Web designer also might consider offering a low-tech graphics option and a high-tech graphics option. The low-tech version would have graphics and some other visual elements, but download time would be kept to a minimum. This version could be for users who enjoy imagery, but do not have a high-speed connection. A high-tech version might include larger bandwidth objects and animations, and might be targeted to users with high-speed technology. Of course, creating three versions would demand extra time, and the designer must weigh the importance of spending time to meet various user demands. Thus far, the literature has not directly addressed how to differentiate between high-level and low-level users.

The uses and gratifications offers an approach for understanding different user demands. A basic tenet of the uses and gratifications theory is that different people can use the same media message for different purposes.

Perhaps Web designers should stop comparing the World Wide Web to other types of media. It has been compared to television, radio, print and theater, to name a few. Maybe it is time to realize that the World Wide Web has its own individual characteristics. Examining the Web from this perspective may account for these participants' requests for trendy graphics and animations that defy typical design standards.

Short Attention Span

The desire for fancy graphics seems to be an indication of the increasingly short attention span of today's television generation. This may account for the great desire for entertainment online. Also, as consumers in the information age, people may be starting to face information overload. Wyper and Greco (1997) reflect this concept: "We all constitute an audience with a million more demands on our attention than there were in the days when print was invented." Designers need to capture the attention of the audience by any means possible.

The same concept is true for the text. Many participants in this study indicated the need to present information in small chunks that are quick and easy to digest. Participants suggested short bits of colorful, entertaining writing.

Navigation

The short attention span phenomenon means that Web designers need to be concerned with navigational issues. Designers can benefit by viewing the World Wide Web as a "Web" of resources. Each site is only one little piece of the entire Internet. Because participants indicated that they tend to hop on and off Web sites, time would be well-spent by creating links to interesting and related sites. By doing so, WRUF AM 850 may be able to "grab" browsers from other sites, if only for a short while.

Designers also need to remember that this concept works the other way around. For example, other Web sites may "grab" users from the WRUF AM 850 site. The design should not prevent this, but should provide users with an easily accessible exit. Participants in this study did not want to be trapped on a site. If users encounter difficulty in exiting a Web site, they may generate hostile feelings towards the station.

Not Linear

Along the same lines, designers can not assume that a user has entered from the initial home page or has followed anything in sequential order. The World Wide Web is not linear in design, and users do not navigate in this manner. Because Web users may have visited many Web sites within a brief period of time, it would be wise to have the station's logo or name on every page as a visual reference point. Even within the prototype, these users found that they need reference points to prevent them from getting lost.

Consider Your Audience

When planning a Web site, designers should remember that users may access the Web from home. Forty percent of the focus group participants accessed the World Wide Web from home.

No matter how much fancy equipment the designer has available, the site must always be designed with the user in mind. Some of the participants in this study indicated that they lose patience if a site takes too long to download. A graphic may be not worth one word, let alone a thousand, if it takes too long to view. Station managers should decide for whom the site should be designed, keeping in mind that users may flee from the site for varying reasons--low-end users may lack patience and high-end users may suffer from boredom.

This study also indicated the potential difficulties with different monitors and browsers. In some of the focus groups, participants' monitors were not calibrated properly, and the Web design translated poorly on their screen. On the Web, what you see is what you get (WYSIWYG), but only on your monitor, with your browser. In a sense, the Web has the potential to lose part of the communication process. This idea needs to be a consideration when the Web designers tackles a new site. Web designers can not rely on subtle distinctions in color, for example, since different monitors display colors differently. Based on comments from these participants, a Web design with high-contrast colors seems to be a safe choice.

Radio stations or other organizations may want to survey their current and/or potential audience to see how users are accessing the Web. The station may also want to ask users what their primary purpose is for using the Web--information or entertainment. Answers to these questions would certainly help organizations to target their audience more productively. In this study, participants who valued information on the Web responded in a different manner than those who valued entertainment.

Station managers also may want to consider carefully how the World Wide Web can expand their current listening audience. Employees at AM 850 WRUF indicated that this was a goal, but as one participant (3-21) stated: "I don't think anyone would really kind of cruise over there." This study indicates that radio stations need to provide strong incentives for people to visit a Web site, not just one time, but on a continual basis. Also, participants who were not currently listeners felt like "outsiders." If the station wants to recruit new listeners, it will need to make them feel welcome.

Transcripts were one of the participant suggestions from participants in this study for increasing user options. To empower the user, these participants suggested that designers should provide as many options as possible. This seemed to be one of the key findings. For example, these participants wanted the option to: view advertisements, read lengthy text or transcripts, listen to soundbites, look at talk show host photographs and send e-mail. Providing options allows the user to feel they have a choice in navigating the site and may help to relieve potential frustration. For example, some participants suggested putting the buttons on the side of the page so that users wouldn't have to scroll to the bottom of the page to navigate.

Along the same lines, the Web designer should consider the placement of advertisements on the site. These focus group participants acknowledged the economic need for advertisements, but they did not want to be bombarded by commercial messages. Providing the user with options can ease frustration. For example, one participant suggested including a small version of an ad, with an option to click for more information. In this manner, the user would be empowered by the choice to view a detailed advertisement, or to glance at a small one and move on.

A similar suggestion was made regarding text. Focus group participants said that it would be helpful to put minimal text on the initial pages. If these users were interested in finding more information on a certain topic, they could just click onto another page and receive more detail. For example, an initial

talk show page might have minimal information about the show. A link might take the user to a page with biographical information on the talk show host. In this manner, both with advertising and text, users retain a sense of control about what they are viewing.

Overall, in terms of navigation, these users wanted simple and easy, but exciting, Web sites. In a sense, they want it all. They don't want to wait for downloading, but they want the site to have an animated and energizing nature. At some level, the technology may catch up, and designers will not struggle with high memory graphics. But, for now, station managers and designers need to negotiate a balance between simplicity and complexity.

Design Elements

This study indicated that the participants who had a more advanced design background appreciated the visual elements more so than users who did not. In addition, those participants who lacked a design background tended to be more interested in informational aspects of the Web site. These results were not the focus of the study, and may simply be an artifact of the sample. Future studies might explore the connection further. Designers might benefit from knowing whether users are more interested in the visual elements or informational aspects of the World Wide Web. Radio stations are not capable of meeting everyone's needs, but they should be aware of what those needs are and attempt to accommodate reasonable requests. One's comfort level with a Web site is likely to have an effect on their feelings about the radio station in general.

Color And Audience Perception

As noted in the literature, the easiest text to read is black on a white background. The WRUF AM 850 prototype, which had white text on a black background, received mixed reviews. In general,

these participants liked the variation from the typical text and screen color, but they also mentioned that they would not want to read this all day.

When choosing a color, Web designers need to keep in mind the mood that the color might reflect. For example, some participants in this study saw the black as a dark color that didn't go with the lighthearted programming of the station. Only a few participants felt this way, but designers need to be aware of all the meanings a color may convey before selecting ones for their Web site.

Along the same lines, designers need to be aware that the public perception of the radio station may be quite distinct from that of the station manager. For example, the station manager saw WRUF AM 850 as a "breaking news" and information station. He also viewed the Web site as an opportunity to create more exposure and to attract a new, larger audience.

Before starting the creative process, the designer gave the station manager a "semantic differential" worksheet to measure his perception of the radio station and of the audience. These characteristics were taken into consideration as the designer made each choice in the design of the Web site. For example, red, black and white were chosen for their "bold" contrast. But, some participants in this study seemed disturbed by the color red because it did not correspond with their perception of the radio station. As suggested by Norman (1988), the designer must always struggle with who should be designed for--the client or the audience.

In terms of color choice, the opinions were mixed. One clear theme was that the background color should contrast with the text to ensure readability and legibility. This may explain why these participants often suggested white as a background color. The layout also was not an issue in the focus groups. Thus, a Web site should draw attention to the content, not the background color or layout.

Beware Of Unintended Associations

Designers must remember that colors may have unintended associated meanings. For example, a number of the participants noted an association with a black background. To some, black backgrounds indicate a graphic intensive Web site, and those who like to keep browsing time to a minimum may immediately hop off the site. Others, who are more interested in looking at Web graphics, may be more likely to prefer black backgrounds. The population in this study was not large enough to allow any generalizations, but the trend was that those who primarily used the Web for information were turned off by the black background, while those who were interested in graphics were intrigued.

Web designers should look for such associations on the World Wide Web before choosing colors for their site. The rapidly changing nature of the Web may not allow publication of this information in a book. Rijken (1994) suggests that designers cultivate a sensitivity to recognizing patterns and should anticipate future growth and evolution.

One conclusion that might be made about color is that each user comes to the monitor with different associations. This was certainly true in the focus groups. Some of the participants in this study indicated that the color red was too "loud" for the station. Others thought the colors were not active enough, and even suggested using a neon color. Almost all of these participants expressed a desire for bright, active colors. Contrary to the literature, these users seemed to want dazzling hue and saturation. What was evident is that these users wanted a trendy look, attained through layout, color choice or any other means possible.

Take Advantage Of Ads

The participants indicated that advertisements have the potential to be entertaining and fun. Ads can be used to enhance the site, something Web designers should take advantage of. Both the advertiser and the radio station may benefit from having well-designed advertisements integrated into the Web site.

Aesthetics vs. Functionality

Most of these participants seemed to like the aesthetics of the Web site. Web designers need to be concerned with aesthetics, but as suggested by the literature, they also need to be concerned with the functionality of the site. As Wyper and Greco (1997, p. 2) state, "The Web is much more about how it acts and reacts than how it looks." Effective Web design is more than just pretty photos or graphics. These comments correspond with the suggestions of the participants in this study, who seemed primarily concerned with issues of interactivity. The site's visual aspects were secondary.

These users might not have focused on the aesthetics of the WRUF site because it was well-designed. Good design may subconsciously ease the navigation process. If the site was poorly-designed, the participants in this study may have focused more on aesthetic issues. It would be interesting to create a site that disregarded all design principles to see what the focus group discussion would be like.

Designing With Metaphor

Working with metaphor is no easy task, and when choosing a metaphor, designers should pick one that can be applied consistently throughout the Web site (Aldersey-Williams, 1996). If a metaphor is used, it needs to be designed to appeal on a literal and an abstract level. This participants in this study responded to metaphors in varying ways and had different levels of appreciation. Metaphors may

actually serve as a hindrance to the Web site if they are not fully comprehended by the user. The focus group participants who misunderstood the restaurant metaphor seemed distracted by the images.

On a similar note, some of the participants needed more time to "warm-up" to the metaphor. After exploring the site, they started to understand the concept. The variance in understanding may be due to participants' natural ability to think in abstract terms. Some people are able to make connections on an abstract level, while others need a more literal link. People who responded to the food images in a literal manner seemed more likely to be disturbed by the imagery. The level of design experience may also play a role in one's ability to understand the metaphor at a deep level. The participant in this study who indicated the greatest understanding of the metaphor was also the person who had the most design experience. In the future, metaphors may lend themselves to personal customization, in which Web users may be able to select the icon or metaphor of their choice.

If a metaphor is used, the concept should be clearly portrayed. Most of the participants in the study mentioned the confusing and cluttered nature of the initial homepage graphic. As noted in the literature, a confusing or complex graphic may be worse than no graphic and may hinder the user's ability to complete tasks. In this case, the first page's graphic provided contextual information about the metaphor. The confusing, cluttered nature of the image may have caused some of the participants to miss the restaurant metaphor entirely.

Designer Not Objective

Designers must remember that users can never be as familiar with the content or the design concept as is the designer. When designers become immersed in working on a Web site, they are no longer able to remain objective.

What may seem obvious to the designer, may not be to the user. Web designers need to ensure that the images they use reflect the nature of the content. Along the same lines, users may not take the time to read the content in depth, so the designer should create a graphic connection to the text. In the focus groups, some participants mentioned that they were so busy trying to see everything, that they didn't read all the pages completely. The images aided in understanding the content.

Neither the images nor the content is necessarily obvious to the user. For example, it was obvious to the designer that some pages had less text because there was little or no information available about the program. But, focus group participants visiting the site for the first time were unaware of the availability of program information, and they expressed frustration with the inconsistent amount text.

Familiarity Is Comfortable

The focus group participants seemed to crave familiarity. They were used to seeing elements in certain places, and there was a comfort with knowing what to expect. For example, these participants expected ads to be on the top of the Web page and the home page button to be the first option available. Any deviation from the obvious and usual should provide adequate warning, explanation or justification to the user.

It is interesting to note that none of the literature mentioned e-mail protocol. For example, how should users respond with e-mail to the talk show hosts? This seems to be an area that is still being defined. For the time being, stations may want to provide brief explanations about any new functions.

This familiarity concept relates to the idea that users want to feel comfortable with the Web site. The participants in this study indicated that they want to feel as if they have a sense of control and direction, rather than the computer making them feel lost or "out-of-control."

In a sense, the ground rules for Web design have been set by precedent, and incoming sites are compared to previous Web or multimedia designs. These participants came to expect a certain look or feel, and they were starting to create their own standards for what is "good" design.

Because these participants' standards for Web design were based on precedence, designers must battle with associations--positive and negative. For example, focus group participants associated black backgrounds with graphically intensive Web sites, and sites with a high number of graphics have typically been associated with a slow download time. Participants also mentioned that the default text reminds them of the original, boring sites with gray backgrounds. This "association" phenomenon was an unexpected outcome from the study.

Unity, Consistency And Clarity

To allow the user to gain a sense of control, Web designers should employ unity, consistency and clarity throughout the site. This is true of all elements of the site--color, graphics, text and metaphor--and was suggested by the participants and the literature. One method for doing so is to employ a design grid. Users should be unaware of its presence. The participants also indicated a desire for "seamlessly integrated" elements, in terms of graphics and advertisements. Focus group participants wanted unity and consistency not only within the parts of the site, but also within the whole site.

DISCUSSION

The results from this study warrant an in-depth discussion. The key findings in this study have direct relevance to the uses and gratifications theory. With the plethora of media consumption options, users are in a position to demand that their media needs are satisfied. Because first impressions may be

lasting, organizations planning to maintain a Web site should be concerned with the key suggestions offered by the participants in this study:

- The designer should be an integral part of the strategic thinking for a Web site.
- Web sites should be highly interactive and should optimize the medium's advantages.
- To be frequently visited, a Web site must be well-maintained.
- The terms "immediate," "convenient," "flexible," "fresh" and "intriguing" should be key concerns when developing a Web site.
- Users must be able to identify with and benefit from the Web site.
- The Web is an entirely new medium and should be treated as such.
- Users should be provided as many options as possible, in terms of content, graphics and advertising.
- Web users' motivations must be understood, and their needs must be met.
- Aesthetically pleasing Web sites are a benefit, but functionality remains an important concern.
- If a metaphor is used, it should be applied consistently and should appeal to the users on a literal and/or abstract level.
- Every effort should be made to ensure that the user is comfortable when navigating a site. Unity, consistency and clarity are helpful in this respect.

Limitations And Suggestions For Further Research

When reviewing results from this study the reader should remember that the design was a prototype. The results would be much more accurate if the Web site was fully functional and updated. For example, the prototype contained no outside links, which is highly unrealistic for a Web site. This must have certainly had an effect on the participants' navigational experience.

Not all of the participants would have chosen to browse the WRUF AM 850 Web site on their own time. Each participant fit into the proposed target audience by the radio station, based on demographics, but some participants doubted that they should be in the target audience. More accurate

results might be obtained if the prototype was placed on the Web and random users visiting the site volunteered for an online discussion. This method was suggested by a focus group participant who stated that using this method would ensure that actual users were responding. Of course, the nature of the focus group would change, since there would be no face-to-face contact. In fact, this type of discussion might not qualify as a focus group, at least in the traditional sense. But, a traditional focus group would be difficult to arrange if users lived in various areas of the country.

It might also produce some interesting results if one-on-one interviews were conducted with users. Some participants may not feel comfortable stating their true opinions in front of a group of people, especially if it may reflect poorly on their taste or their computer knowledge. A future study might conduct individual in-depth interviews along with focus groups.

An additional possibility for future research would be participant observations. It might be useful to observe the behavior of users while they are browsing Web sites. This could be a sticky issue, since users are likely to alter their browsing behavior if they are aware of being monitored.

Future studies also might choose not to have the designer conducting the focus groups. Participants may have been afraid to voice any criticism for fear of insulting the designer. In addition, the designer may have uncontrollable urges to explain the reasoning behind the design, which users typically will not have access to when they are forming their first impression of the site.

Conclusion

This study seems to indicate that the more the Web can offer, the more the users demand. This places a great pressure on radio stations, particularly a small, local station. The focus groups suggested that a successful Web site takes an entire staff devoted to its maintenance. The literature did not seem to address this key aspect of Web design. By maintaining a Web site, AM 850 WRUF can certainly hope

to increase communication with their listeners, but they also can expect to meet increasing demands from users. The computer age seems to have created greater expectations in users' minds. These participants wanted fast, exciting Web sites, with as much personal customization as possible.

The World Wide Web has been praised for its global nature. But, participants in this study continue to value the localized nature of radio stations. The Web is a medium with truly interactive qualities. Radio stations should take advantage of the global and interactive nature of the Web, without sacrificing a commitment to the local audience. For the designer, this means creating a site which appeals on local and global levels.

The World Wide Web appears to be an entirely new category of communication with new design principles. Web designers may rely on a few old standards from other media, but for the most part, the ground rules for Web design are unique. In a sense, the users are developing the standards because a Web site is useless without an active audience. As the literature and the participants in this study suggest, technology is also playing a determining factor. As technology and technological access improve, the World Wide Web and its design standards also will evolve.

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Creating Visual Metaphor of the Internet

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RUNNING HEAD: VISUAL METAPHOR

Creating Visual Metaphor of the Internet

ABSTRACT

This study examined visual metaphors of the Internet created by college students. The authors applied an Interaction theory to their data from a series of in-depth interviews and classified visual metaphors into metaphoric types. They identified 23 types of visual metaphors, including *challenge, navigation, food, privacy, flowing, knowledge and information, and powerful force*. They also discussed implications of metaphoric research for communication theory and practice by focusing on the nature of *projective* or *similarity-creating* metaphors.

WORD COUNT: 75

RUNNING HEAD: VISUAL METAPHOR

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INTRODUCTION

Metaphors have been used in persuasive communication for years. When the president of the United States proposed "building a bridge to the twenty-first century," in his reelection campaign in 1996, he drew upon one of the best known, yet least understood tools of language. When a television commercial for Eggo Waffles symbolically transforms waffles into angelic halos hovering over the heads of children, it taps into the thought processes which allow people to interpret metaphor. For hundreds of years the metaphor has been seen as only a play on words - a substitution of one word for another. Yet it is fundamental to communication processes. By its nature, it is an illustrative type of communication. We can *show* people something with metaphors as opposed to *telling* someone something.

Metaphors command our attention for a number of reasons. Some have suggested that they are central to thought processes (see Black 1962, Emmett 1961, Richards 1936, Ricoeur 1977), while others claim that they are often taken for granted (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). As a tool of expression, Beck and More (1987) suggest that employees who used metaphor most effectively tended to get promoted faster than those who did not. Metaphor is distinctly human. That is why one of the challenges to artificial intelligence has been comprehension of metaphor (Beck 1987).

The study of metaphor has been carried out among several disciplines including communication, linguistics, philosophy, cognitive science, psychology, and computer science. The predominance of mass communication studies involving metaphor has tended to analyze the effects of using metaphors in advertising. Gerald Zaltman's Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET), for example, uses metaphor and interview data to improve advertising for a product or service. Other studies, such as one by Bourland-Davis' (1997), have allowed subjects to create metaphors to show their relationships with different media.

In this study, we used the Internet as a central topic to focus on the creation of visual metaphors. The Internet, arguably the most important development in mass communication since the advent of television, combines audio and visual imagery that "is new, loaded with content, crowded, and seemingly a great business prospect" but "none of these... [aspects] are distinct communication phenomena..." (Newhagen and Rafaeli 1996, 4). Considering the growing importance of the Internet as a communication mechanism, we seek dimensions specific to communication in this study. Some features unique to the Internet discussed in previous studies include linearity on the Internet, the routing of data paths, synchronicity and interactivity (Newhagen and Rafaeli 1996). Often these concepts are explained by metaphors.

The second reason for choosing the Internet as a topic is the nature of the term 'Internet' and its relation to the system that it represents. The term is somewhat abstract, and because of this abstraction, it lends itself to the study of metaphor. Consider Vice President Gore's labeling the Internet an 'information super-highway,' or 'The World Wide Web' that signifies a system of documents, clients and servers sharing information via 'hyper-text mark-up language' (HTML) protocol. These concepts are brought to the realm of tangibility with metaphorical representations, therefore, it would be useful to examine visual metaphors associated with the Internet.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Aristotle is one of the earliest writers on the subject of metaphor, and his analysis is still relevant today; particularly regarding the use of metaphor for rhetorical discourse. To achieve this rhetorical use, "...the metaphors by which we give names to nameless things must not be far fetched; rather we must draw them from kindred and similar things; the kinship must be seen the moment the words are uttered..." (Cooper 1932, 188). Aristotle expresses a key dichotomy of metaphor: the connection of different 'things,' that are somehow related. Aristotle noted the discovery powers of metaphor, "...strange words simply puzzle us; ordinary words convey only what we know already; it is from metaphor that we can best get hold of something fresh" (Aristotle 1924, 1410b).

Other classical authors tended to emphasize the ornamental uses of metaphor. For example, Quintilian suggested six uses of metaphor; 'for vividness,' 'for brevity,' 'to avoid obscenity,' 'for magnifying,' 'for minifying,'[sic] and 'for embellishing' (cited in Hawkes 1972). In the late seventeenth century, British Parliament proposed an Act to curb the use of 'fulsome and luscious' metaphor (Hawkes 1972).

Certain romantic authors began to develop a different perspective on metaphor loosely based on the philosophy of Plato. Coleridge, for example, distinguished the points of view of Plato from that of Aristotle: Aristotle believed that the mind was an empty page, filled only with information that the senses perceived, whereas Plato held that information not seen or perceived at certain levels could affect the information perceived at other levels (cited in Hawkes 1972).

Similarly, Richards (1936) argued that metaphor was not a 'function of picture-making,' but it was a function of language. How a figure of speech works does not necessarily have anything to do with mental images or sensory perceptions supporting the words of the writer or reader. Richards is generally deemed to be the father of the Interaction perspective of metaphor. The researcher concluded, "In the simplest formulation, when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is resultant of their interaction" (Richards 1936, 93).

Several researchers illustrated the Interaction perspective in their investigation of how people process incoming bits and pieces of information. Bruner (1957), for example, used the theory of schematic processing to illustrate how complex sensory stimuli is processed and simplified by the cognitive agent. Graber (1990) utilized an information approach to explain how people process visual information--information such as images in news programs. Schematic processing allows people to wade through the daily barrage of information by assigning general 'scripts' to new information based on prior experience. If the new information seems to fit into a particular script it is 'filed' accordingly, and much of the specific information is ignored (Graber 1990).

Proponents of the Interaction view of metaphor, in their opposition to the substitution and comparison views, contended that a metaphorical statement has two distinct subjects--a "principal" subject and a "subsidiary" one. The metaphor works by applying to the principal subject "associated implications" characteristic of the subsidiary subject. These implications usually consist of "commonplaces" about the subsidiary subject, or in some cases, the metaphor selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the principal subject by implying statements about it that normally apply to the subsidiary subject. This involves shifts in meanings of words belonging to the same family or system as the metaphorical expression; and some of these shifts, though not all, may be metaphorical transfers (Black 1962, 44-45). According to Black, interaction involves the application of new meaning and is more than convenient figurative replacements of literal expressions.

In her study of the role of metaphor in mass communication, Bourland-Davis (1997) explored the creation of textual metaphors by asking communication students to form metaphors about media in general. She then organized and analyzed the metaphors by theme. She proposed that people's relationship to media can be defined by the metaphors they create.

There do exist simple metaphors that can be explained sufficiently by a comparison or substitution view. The problem is that many metaphors cannot sufficiently be explained by these views. For example, if we said that, "Fred was a sloth," assuming that the domain of interpretation is Fred's laziness--and we provide no other contextual information, then we might make the argument that the substitution view could adequately explain this metaphor. Sloth-like qualities are simply substituted for laziness.

Indurkha (1992) distinguishes between two different types of metaphor: *similarity based* metaphor and *similarity creating* metaphor. The former is based on a series of similarities that exist *before* the metaphor, while similarities exist only *after* the metaphor is understood in the latter. *Similarity based* metaphor is more like a simple comparison. *Similarity creating* metaphor or projective metaphor is not reducible to a simple comparison, because it involves a reorganizing

of the sensory data with a new ontology. This reorganization happens through the process of projection.

In the context of marketing and advertising, Zaltman and his colleagues proposed the Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET). This procedure operates by allowing subjects to identify images that illustrate aspects of a product or service. Through an interview process, the visual metaphors are explained, and through these explanations, respondents' feelings toward various aspects of the products are brought to the surface. The ZMET "is designed to surface mental models that drive consumer thinking and behavior and characterize these models in actionable ways using consumers' metaphors" (Zaltman and Coulter 1995, 35). The ZMET study relies on the creation of visual metaphors. Visual metaphor is less common in metaphor research, but no less valid.

Visual Metaphor

Visual metaphors can control the sensory data on the source side of the projection. It is the difference between asking someone "Of these three, which two colors are more similar: green, blue, or aqua?" or showing them a swatch of green, blue, and aqua and asking which two are more similar. Each approach has inherent strengths and weaknesses. In the first case we are asking for someone to find a relation in their concepts of certain colors. In the second example we are asking people to find relations in their perceptions of certain stimuli. Persons may perceive the stimuli differently, but the stimuli are held constant.

Another issue that we must address is whether visual metaphors can be considered to be metaphors at all. The use of visual examples is justified by the necessity to look beyond verbal or literal limitations. As several researchers (e.g., Zaltman and Coulter 1995) have demonstrated, most communication is nonverbal. One of the premises used in ZMET is that "thoughts typically occur as nonverbal images, even though they are often expressed visually" (Zaltman and Coulter 1995, 37). Zaltman and Coulter contend that if we can assume that thoughts tend to occur as images, then allowing subjects to express themselves with images will allow researchers closer access to the thought processes.

Not all pictures are metaphors as illustrated in Indurkha (1992). The context in which the image occurs is as important as the content of the image in determining whether or not a metaphor exists. Simply put, an image is part of a visual metaphor if it is used metaphorically. Indurkha (1992, 21) explained:

A religious ritual, a painting, and a certain juxtaposition of images in a film are all examples of things that have the potential of being metaphorical. A general term that subsumes them all is perhaps a complex symbol or a structured set of symbols.

The shower scene in Hitchcock's *Psycho*, for example, was used to represent a spiritual cleansing. Another example of metaphorical use of symbols with a similar degree of metaphoric content in Indurkha is shown in David Lean's *Doctor Zhivago*. Indurkha (1992, 23) noted:

...When Yuri (Omar Sharif) and Lara (Julie Christie) "first touch, accidentally, on a trolley, Lean signals their mystic union with a spark from the trolley's overhead wires." [Anderegg 1984, 129].

Clearly, that spark could be interpreted as being part of a visual metaphor given the context in which it occurs. The fact that not everyone might interpret it as such does not reduce its potential. It would be futile to assume that for a metaphor to exist it must be universally understood. Some metaphors will appear to be anomalous to some people, some metaphors will be missed entirely. So, we conclude that visual metaphor is not only a valid manifestation of metaphor, but it also permits us certain advantages in the study of metaphor. Visual metaphor limits the source realm and renders the visual sensory data isomorphic. Visual metaphor also allows for the use of symbols that might be difficult to describe with textual metaphor. With this in mind, we explored the following two principal research questions:

- RQ1:** In asking participants to produce and explain visual representations of the Internet, will a specific type of metaphor--referred to as "projective metaphor"-- be created?
- RQ2:** From the visual metaphors formed, what abstract concepts, or themes, will emerge for the Internet?

METHODS

First we set out to obtain a set of potential visual metaphors. This was necessary to effectively answer the research questions because they pertain to a set of created metaphors. Forty-two students from sophomore-level communication classes participated in the experiment. The participants were either given extra credit, or had the exercise count toward class participation. The students who volunteered were told that this was a research to measure advertising effectiveness. To allow metaphors to form naturally, without a conscious attempt to produce them, no mention of metaphor was made. The participants were given written instructions as well as an in-class explanation of the tasks that they were asked to perform. They were given one week to complete the task. They were asked to find several pictures that illustrate what the Internet means to them. The participants then signed up for interview times approximately one week from the assignment date. They were asked to allow about 20 minutes for the interview. They were to bring their pictures, and be prepared to discuss the ones that they had chosen. Arrangements were made to duplicate the pictures at no cost to the participants.

The participants were interviewed to discuss the pictures that they brought. The interview questions were derived from the procedures that Zaltman and Coulter outlined in the discussion of

ZMET. They stated that not all of the procedures outlined are pertinent to every study; also time and funding constraints can make some of the techniques difficult. So, as these authors have suggested, we adopted certain techniques relevant to this study. We used the first seven steps of ZMET with only minor variations: "storytelling, missed issues and images, sorting task, construct elicitation, most representative image, opposite image, and sensory images" (Zaltman and Coulter 1995).

The participants were first asked to describe and explain their images, and each one's relation to the Internet. This gave them an opportunity to express the relationships that they have been associating between their pictures and the Internet. Then they were asked to describe an image that they wanted to bring, but were unable to find. This gave the participants an opportunity to bring up any images that they thought of prior to finding the pictures, or let them describe pictures that they were unable to find. Next, they were asked to sort their images into meaningful piles and explain the reasons for their sorting choices. Also, they were asked to take three of their images and explain how two of them are alike yet different from the third. The pictures were grouped into triads and evaluated using a modified technique (Zaltman and Coulter 1995). This technique was used to focus on major themes and elicit constructs within the mind of the cognitive agent--in this case, the student participant. Then, they were asked to pick their most representative image. Next, they were asked to describe an image that is the opposite of what the Internet means to them. As Zaltman and Coulter (1995) prescribe, a good way to help determine what something means to someone is to ask what it does not mean to them. All of the above processes served to outline the context of the visual metaphors and establish a domain of interpretation. We need more than just an image to have a visual metaphor, without an understanding of the domain of interpretation then we can have no metaphor.

At this point we have compiled a set of metaphors as well as a description of the meaning of the metaphors provided by the creators. So, now the procedure departs from the ZMET technique in order to critically evaluate the set of metaphors in light of the Interaction theory of metaphor. Thus far, participants have created a set of potential metaphors using some procedures from the ZMET technique. We then employed a data classification system as shown below for analyzing this set of metaphors.

Data Classification

Indurkha (1992) organized his data into three categories which we applied to our data. Three categories used in this study are as follows:

No visual metaphor: No metaphorical representation is present. A picture is supplied, but no visual metaphor exists.

Similarity based metaphor: A metaphorical representation based on similar structures of the source and target. In a *similarity-based* metaphor, the conventional description of the target realm (the target concept network) is used to mediate the process of projecting the source concept network onto the target realm (Indurkha 1992, 256). An example would be to use an hydraulic system as a metaphor for an electrical system.

Similarity creating metaphor: This is a projective metaphor, which works by disregarding the target realm of the target concept network, and projecting instead a new source concept network on it. In the process, the structure of the source concept network is kept more or less invariant, but the ontology of the target realm is altered and eventually becomes "isomorphic (as far as it can be) to the structure of the source concept network" (Indurkha 1992, 271).

An example would be to use a pump as a metaphor for a paintbrush. In fact, researchers have determined that a paintbrush does pump paint onto a surface as opposed to smearing it. Knowing this, we reorganize the data that we see when we observe a surface being painted by a brush. The data have not changed, but they are now organized by concepts associated with pumps (Indurkha, 1992). To operationalize this theoretical definition, the key factor that distinguishes a *projective* metaphor is whether an ontological structure was projected onto the domain of interpretation (the Internet) to reorganize the sense data. Or, stated more simply, did the participant project a structure?

Here it is necessary to define what is meant by *structure*. Two examples illustrate the present definition. In the first case, the participant produces a picture of a telephone and states that the Internet is like a telephone because people can communicate over long distances. This would not be a *projective* metaphor because the participant is only comparing phone concepts to Internet concepts. Any image of any phone could be substituted here without altering the representation.

On the other hand, the participant produces a picture of a phone booth packed with people and relates the picture to issues of privacy on the Internet. Here a *projective* metaphor does exist. The participant is applying the structure of privacy as it is organized by the phone booth picture to the domain of interpretation (the Internet). Note that if the elements of the picture were rearranged, or if we substituted a picture of an empty phone booth, the metaphor would not work. We could, however, substitute another picture that represents the same basic structure--a circus car stuffed with clowns, for example. The structure is the ontology by which the sense data is organized by the concepts. In the second example, the participant is indeed projecting a structure.

These categories are not self evident, and require understanding the underlying theory in order to effectively classify metaphors. As Indurkha admits, some examples may not fit into one category ultimately or exclusively. With that in mind, another researcher was instructed on the classification schema and asked to evaluate 20 percent of the examples to establish the acceptable level of reliability. With this procedure, all of the potential metaphor examples were evaluated.

FINDINGS

RQ1: In asking subjects to produce and explain visual representations of aspects of the Internet, will a specific type referred to above as "projective metaphor"-- be created?

There were 162 images obtained from the 42 participants who were interviewed, or an average of 3.8 images per subject. All of the images, in accordance with their accompanying descriptions, were divided into three basic categories: *no metaphor (metonymy)*, *similarity based metaphor*, and *similarity creating metaphor*. *Metonymy* is broadly defined as substituting the part for the whole (Fiske 1980; see Sapir 1977 for a more complete definition). This category is typically populated by examples where a subject would produce an image that represented a product, service, or simply information that could be obtained from the Internet. For example, one participant produced a photograph of a baseball player and explained that one can get sports information from the Internet. This particular baseball player was used to represent all sports information. There is not a metaphorical representation here, only a metonistic representation. An image was not used metaphorically, instead an image of a particular 'x' was used generally to represent all 'x's. All cases that did not contain a visual metaphor were put into this metonymy category.

Similarity based metaphors were rare in this data set. Only three of the 126 images were classified as this type of metaphor. One example produced by a subject consisted of a photograph of a world globe that was peppered with push-pins (See **Picture 1**). The participant explained that the pins represented connections of the Internet such as hubs where several Internet lines tie together, and noted that the concentration of the pins seemed to coincide with highly populated and technologically advanced areas. This image is a system that is a visual representation of the system of the Internet. One might note the similarity of this example to Indurkha's (1992) example of a hydraulic system being used as a metaphor for an electrical system (See **Figure 1**). Both examples represent systems with points of similar representation.

The majority of metaphorical representations were classified as *similarity creating* metaphor. Thirty-six of the 162 images fit this category. These were most relevant to developing ideas for mass communication, representing nonconventional expressions of the participant's relationship to this medium; examples are shown in the findings for RQ2.

RQ2: From the visual metaphors formed, what themes, will emerge for the Internet?

Here the 'theme' is operationalized simply by having the participant provide a short label for the picture as it relates to the Internet. We were exploring the themes that emerged for the various metaphors that were created. What follows is a thematic interpretation of the visual metaphors that were obtained. A theme is listed, then a description of the image, and a related concept follows. The source image descriptions are supplied only to facilitate our explanation.

These descriptions were created by looking at the participants' images independently from their explanations, and then providing a brief description for the principal subject of the image. The source concept descriptions were paraphrased or taken word for word from the interviews.

Visual Metaphors by Theme

1) **Challenge**

Four of the metaphors dealt with the notion of challenge and reward. The first example stresses the challenge aspect, whereas the following two examples stress the imminent, yet still un-obtained reward. The last example stresses the fear and exhilaration.

- a) **Source image:** A lady driving a fast convertible and a watch. A woman drives a convertible automobile, the wind blows her hair. This image is connected to a close-up image of a watch. (See Picture 2)

Source concept: Getting the "hang" and "taking off".

- b) **Source image:** A tight-rope walker. A man in costume balances himself high above a gorge. He holds a long pole and has a confident smile.

Source concept: Challenging, yet fun.

- c) **Source image:** A doorknob with light coming through a keyhole. Rays of light stream from an old-fashioned keyhole.

Source concept: A door of opportunity for which I do not yet possess the key.

- d) **Source image:** A skier in mid air jumps off of a mountain. High above a tree-line we see a skier--bending toward the front of his skis, sailing towards a snowy ground.

Source concept: A great leap.

2) **Navigation**

The subject who produces this example expressed that it was difficult to get to a particular destination without being distracted.

- a) **Source image:** Two men try to climb a wall. From behind, we view two men struggling to climb over a brick wall that is taller than they are. (See Picture 3)

Source concept: Trying to reach a destination (being distracted).

3) **Food**

The Internet was represented as food in four of the 162 images: The deli sandwiches in the current example, a stew, a cheesecake, and a candy-bar.

- a) **Source Image:** Open Milky Way candy-bar. A candy bar is cut open on a white plate so that all of the internal layers are visible, and the caramel flows toward the viewer.

(See Picture 4)

Source concept: Desirable.

- b) **Source image:** A deli. We see an external night shot of an illuminated restaurant in the background with close-ups of sandwiches in the foreground.
Source concept: Nourishing: food for thought.
- c) **Source image:** Cheese-cake desert. A rich looking desert with a whipped topping is served on a white plate.
Source concept: Rich, enticing nature.

4) **Privacy**

The image of a crowded phone booth appeared twice, once as a metaphor and once in a non metaphorical sense. In the latter, it was used to represent telephones in general and the subject made no comment about the people inside the phone booth.

- a) **Source image:** Many people in a phone booth. (See Picture 5)
Source concept: Lack of privacy.

5) **Flowing**

Various representations of information and knowledge were used in several of the examples. The first example below is the only case where any type of 'information flow' was represented. The second example is related in that the Internet is seen as a melting-pot of information--information is 'melted' and 'flows' together as a liquid.

- a) **Source image:** A waterfall. White streams of water cascade down a mossy mountain side. (See Picture 6)
Source concept: Flowing together.
- b) **Source image:** A pot of stew.
Source concept: A melting-pot.

6) **Knowledge and Information**

- a) **Source image:** People's heads popped open with large coil springs inside. Like a jack-in-a-box, the tops of the heads of a man, woman and child are sprung above their excited faces on large coil springs. (See Picture 7)
Source concept: Expanding knowledge from all points of view.
- b) **Source image:** A lady looks at a twisted lamp. A floor lamp is crafted from copper tubing in an artistic design; it holds a large bright bulb with no shade.
Source concept: A bright idea, a different perspective. (See Picture 8)
- c) **Source image:** Light bulb drawing.
Source concept: A source of information.
- d) **Source image:** A silhouetted image of a person with a star in the head.
Source concept: Knowledge.

7) **Powerful Force**

- a) **Source image:** A cartoon Hercules. Muscles bulging, Hercules wields a glowing lightning bolt. (See Picture 9)

Source concept: A strong part of society.

8) **Infiniteness**

Of the 162 images, two different images were used to represent infinite qualities of the Internet. The first, a picture of the sky, and the second, a large hand-bag. Both were metaphorical representations.

- a) **Source image:** A large purse. A large tan woman's hand-bag.

Source concept: Infinite possibilities.

- b) **Source image:** Sunny sky with clouds.

Source concept: Infiniteness.

9) **Social Relationships**

Meeting people appeared as the concept in five of the 162 images, whereas intimate relationships were the subject for three of the images. Typically, two or more people would be pictured together in the image. This example is the only one that used a metaphorical representation for meeting people.

- a) **Source image:** Two hands touch. Illuminated from behind, two hands touch from opposite directions, in front of a dark background.

Source concept: Meeting friends.

10) **Addiction**

The concept of addiction was only specifically mentioned once, and it was not associated with the image of drugs per se, but instead with the image of vitamins--substances with which addiction is rare. Addiction was alluded to two other times: One subject used an image of a watch to represent the concept of people spending too much time on the Internet. In another image, hair spray was associated with the concept of "getting out of control" by spending too much time on the Internet.

- a) **Source image:** A bottle of vitamins.

Source concept: Addiction.

- b) **Source image:** Hair spray.

Source concept: Getting "carried away" (lack of control).

11) **Explosion**

The concept of an explosion of information was represented metaphorically in two examples. In the first example, the Internet is associated with a volcano. In the second example, the Internet is associated with an atomic explosion.

- a) **Source image:** Lava eruption. A large volcanic eruption with glowing globs of magma.

Source concept: Explosion.

b) **Source image:** A nuclear radiation sign with a mouse pointer icon.

Source concept: Explosion.

12) Confusion

The concept of confusion was represented in five of the 162 images, two of them metaphorically.

a) **Source image:** A crossword puzzle.

Source concept: Confusion.

b) **Source image:** Question marks.

Source concept: Confusion

13) Ease of Use

Golfer Tiger Woods' image was used in two of the 162 images--once metaphorically and once not metaphorically.

a) **Source image:** Tiger Woods. Tiger stands at a podium to accept an award. He smiles at the viewer.

Source concept: Easy to do.

14) Escape

Travel was a very common concept among the images. Some participants even alluded to a synthetic travel experience via the Internet--you could visit far off places from your living-room. Typically these images would contain historic buildings, beaches, luggage, and hotels. In this case, the participant specifically mentioned 'escape' in explaining the metaphor.

a) **Source image:** A man in a car. We look head-on at a lone driver behind the wheel of a sports-car. He wears sunglasses and looks at the viewer.

Source concept: Escape.

15) Anonymity

The subject of anonymity and assumed identities surfaced in several of the interviews. The following was the sole metaphorical expression of anonymity.

a) **Source image:** An old man dressed as Superman. A grandfather-like character sports the blue shirt and red cape.

Source concept: Assumed identities; role-playing.

16) Advanced Technology

Of the 162 images, 5 were images of computers, none of which had any associated metaphorical representation. The following example represents a metaphorical representation of advanced technology.

a) **Source image:** Glowing abstract images of human bodies (as from a computer generated infra-red scan).

Source concept: Advanced technology.

17) Exploration

- a) **Source image:** People and a dog in boats in a lake. A collage of three pictures; in each of them we see a canoe with two people in it from a distance. In the third shot we are looking from the point of view of a dog in another canoe.

Source concept: Exploring.

18) Stimulation

Excitement was seen in a few of the metonymy examples by showing a picture of an excited person's face. The following is a metaphorical example of stimulation or excitement.

- a) **Source image:** Electronic representation of the brain. A multi-colored abstract of the brain as if generated by some kind of brain-wave recording apparatus.

Source concept: Stimulating quality.

19) Variety

- a) **Source image:** A lady with several different hair-styles.

Source concept: Variety.

20) Universality

- a) **Source image:** A performer on a stage. From behind, we see a blurry performer address an excited crowd.

Source concept: Universal quality (i.e. music as universal language).

21) New Dimension

- a) **Source image:** Odd alien people. Glowing multi-colored beings stand in a swirling color vortex.

Source concept: A new dimension.

22) Danger

- a) **Source image:** A shark. Under water, we see the mouth and eye of a huge shark.

Source concept: Dangerous quality.

23) Peace of Mind

- a) **Source image:** A skier. A skier glides along a snowy wilderness pass.

Source concept: Peace of mind.

DISCUSSION

The first research question asked whether participants, invited to produce and explain visual representations of the Internet, will create a specific type of metaphor--referred to above as "projective metaphor." This exercise revealed some interesting and unique ways participants viewed the topic, and gave insights to their schematic processing. We often saw how a seemingly unrelated picture was related to the Internet with abstract concepts. Additionally, the interviews yielded some value-based information about the topic. For example, some participants used pictures to emphasize the confusing nature of the Internet, while others portrayed it as relaxing.

To visualize the model of projection, proposed by Indurkha (1992), to explain the creation of a *similarity creating* metaphor, recall the phone booth image: a crowd of people are packed into a telephone booth. As discussed above, the participant said that this image represented the lack of privacy on the Internet. Indurkha's model of projection shows how this metaphor works. The source realm is the sensori-motor data that we perceive from the photograph, in this case, a phone booth packed with people. The source concept network consists of all of the concepts dealing with lack of privacy. This cognitive agent (the participant) uses the concept network to arrange the sensori-motor data of the photograph in a particular way--a particular ontology.

If we attempt to explain this metaphor with either the substitution or comparison approaches, we can see their shortcomings. The concepts associated with Internet privacy cannot be substituted with the concepts associated with being stuffed into a phone booth. Personal constriction has no conventional interpretation in regard to the Internet. It is also difficult to identify an underlying analogy for the comparison view to be applied. Besides the domain of interpretation--lack of privacy--there is no obvious analogy. No conventional interpretation exists between the source and the target. Consequently, the Interaction theory of metaphor is more useful in helping to explain the metaphor process, especially since it takes into account the different levels of abstraction of the source and target.

Another point should be stressed; participants were not "trying" to create metaphors in this study. If they were, we might have expected different results. The goal was to see what metaphors could be cultivated, not contrived. This approach is one of the reasons for the reduced number of metaphors as compared to images collected. On the other hand, the integrity of the naturally occurring metaphors was maintained by using this unobtrusive technique.

In the second research question, we asked: from the visual metaphors formed, what abstract concepts, or themes, will emerge for the Internet? There were some commonalities among some of the examples in regard to either the images that were used, or the concepts that were represented, or both. A thematic analysis was employed to organize and explain the data. Bourland-Davis (1997) provides precedence for such an analysis in her study involving metaphor creation for mass media: *Creating Metaphors for Mass Communication Theory*. Owen (1985) is

credited by Bourland-Davis for the conceptual process of identifying prominent themes in metaphors. Owen's work focused on the metaphors that people use to temporarily understand and explain their perceptions of their roles in personal relationships. Bourland-Davis extended this framework to include the relationship of people and media. We built on both works, shifting focus to the specific medium of the Internet, while maintaining the same caveats noted before: Namely, that the themes proposed are offered for descriptive purposes only and may not reflect generalizable categories. Similarities between Bourland-Davis' data and themes that emerged in this study are noted in the descriptions that follow.

Four of the metaphors dealt with ideas of challenge and reward -- interesting concepts for advertising on the Internet. Most advertisements tend to stress the ease of using Internet products and services, but few if any address the ideas of challenge and reward. (This motif has been used successfully in other advertising campaigns; consider the slogan for the U.S. Army, '...the toughest job you'll ever love.') Some people may want a challenge and will be gratified by conquering various Internet applications.

Of the two images used to represent infinite qualities of the Internet, a picture of the sky, and a large hand-bag, there is an obvious but noteworthy distinction. The large hand-bag has finite boundaries, but the participant extended the infinite metaphor to the Internet by explaining that a computer has finite boundaries as well as some capacity for storage, but its contents can be replaced with other information from the Internet, just as different items can be in the hand-bag.

The concept of addiction was alluded to three times during the interview phase of data gathering. One of the participants presented an image of a watch to illustrate the concept of people spending too much time on the Internet. In another image, hair spray was associated with the concept of "getting out of control" with spending too much time on the Internet, and another participant used the term in reference to a picture of vitamins. Addiction was one of the themes that emerged in Bourland-Davis' study as well, where a student compared television to drugs saying that he or she could not go without television.

The concept of confusion was illustrated in five images, including an example of a puzzle. A puzzle implies an attainable solution to an Internet user's confusion, whereas the picture of question marks from another participant did not. Question marks were also used by a participant to represent the fact that she, 'questions the whole Internet.' Her interview revealed that she considered the morality and safety of the Internet to be suspect, but because she used the question marks simply to replace the word "question," her illustration was not deemed metaphorical.

In the example of Tiger Woods' image, the idea projected related to the ease at which the student felt the Internet allowed him to use complicated tools. The second image of Tiger Woods, however, simply showed that one could obtain sports information from the Internet, which would be metonymy, at best, and does not suit the classification of metaphor.

The Internet is inherently non-linear. Users can 'jump' to other locations--different documents-- by clicking on 'links' in other documents. While this offers certain advantages over typical linear media, such as text in a book, it also introduces the problem of navigation. The participant who produced the example of two men trying to climb a wall expressed the opinion that it was difficult to get to a particular destination without being distracted.

The Internet was represented as food in four of the 162 images, but only in the deli sandwiches example was 'nourishing the mind,' or any kind of nourishing quality cited by the participant. The stew was used to represent a 'melting pot' concept, whereas the desserts represented enticement and desire. Bourland-Davis (1997) placed food examples in a category entitled 'Basic Needs,' based on Maslow's Hierarchy of needs. One of her students produced an example projecting media as food for the mind very similar to the deli concept.

Various representations of information and 'information flow' were visualized. The illustration of a pot of stew, for example, related to the Internet as a melting-pot of information--information is 'melted' and 'flows' together as a liquid. Bourland-Davis' (1997) categories featured 'Water,' with two of her students creating a pool metaphor and a sponge metaphor for media.

The visual metaphor attributing powerful force to the Internet was depicted by a cartoon of Hercules. This category was also present in Bourland-Davis' (1997) research. Three students in her study produced powerful force metaphors using natural disasters, a boxer, and a whale.

The subject of anonymity and assumed identities surfaced in several of the interviews. In one example depicting an old man dressed as Superman the participant noted that the Internet might be responsible for relationships based more on personality and less on appearance. Another student said that malicious people could use its anonymity to abduct children.

One assumption considered in undertaking this study was that we would end up with many pictures of computers and no insightful metaphors. Fortunately, this was not the case. Of course, there were images of computers produced; out of the 162 images, five were images of computers, none of which had any associated metaphorical conceptualizations.

The interview with a participant who produced a picture of people and dogs in a boat revealed an adventurous metaphor with regard to the Internet. The placement of the characters was perceived by the subject to represent exploring vicariously. The subject associated this with synthetic experience that the Internet can provide.

Two different metaphors used the image of a skier in a snowy wilderness, but the images were composed differently and their concept networks appeared quite different. The first showed a skier in mid air, and the subject used it to represent the concept of a great leap--the leap of "getting into " a new technology. It is easy to extend the concept network to include feelings of fear and exhilaration. The second had the skier safely on the ground, just moving through the snowy

landscape. The subject associated this with the peace of mind that one might find by using the Internet.

The thematic analysis of the metaphors in this study makes no claims regarding reliability or generality, but its importance should not be discounted. For example, those interested in advertising research may see this as an example of the wealth of different concepts that can be obtained from a relatively simple exploration process. Also, it shows a more general application of ZMET principles to a particular medium. It further extends the application of Bourland-Davis, yet focuses on one particular medium: the Internet.

If we can agree with Indurkha that similarity creating metaphors are potentially tools for creative genius, then future research that would aid in the production and analysis of these metaphors would be desirable. There is also a great potential for additional research exploring the relationship that is currently developing between people and the new medium, the Internet. The themes identified here offer a source of discussion and exploration for researchers interested in this new medium.

Our population of participants was neither very large nor very diverse. According to Zaltman and Coulter (1995) that should not adversely affect the ZMET process, however, we cannot make any claims of generality about the themes that were formed about the Internet. Of course, a large number of participants would tend to make the Interview process (and transcription process) rather cumbersome.

A clear limitation of this study is the lack of a simple operational definition for classifying the types of metaphors formed. Because every picture and every related description was produced by the participants, each case required careful consideration to determine whether a structure was being projected. Both researchers were required to use their best judgment based on their understanding of the theoretical model. A more succinct operational definition for classifying the metaphors will have to originate from a clearer and more definitive theoretical model.

One question that arose during this study was how would demographics affect the kinds of metaphors formed and the themes crafted about the Internet. For example, will men and women form different metaphors about the Internet?

The interviews revealed that the participants had varying experience with the Internet and used the Internet for different reasons. We might ask how people's use of and experience with the Internet affects the types of metaphors they form.

The Interaction theory of metaphor seems to be the best explanation for the ways in which cognitive agents create and understand metaphor, but it still needs a good deal of testing and research. Metaphor is uniquely human, and we have been unable to synthesize the process. In an era when we can clone living animals, and indefinitely prolong the life of cells, and monitor and

identify brain-wave activity for various sensory input, and so on, it is odd how a simple cognitive process and the communication of the products of this process continues to elude us.

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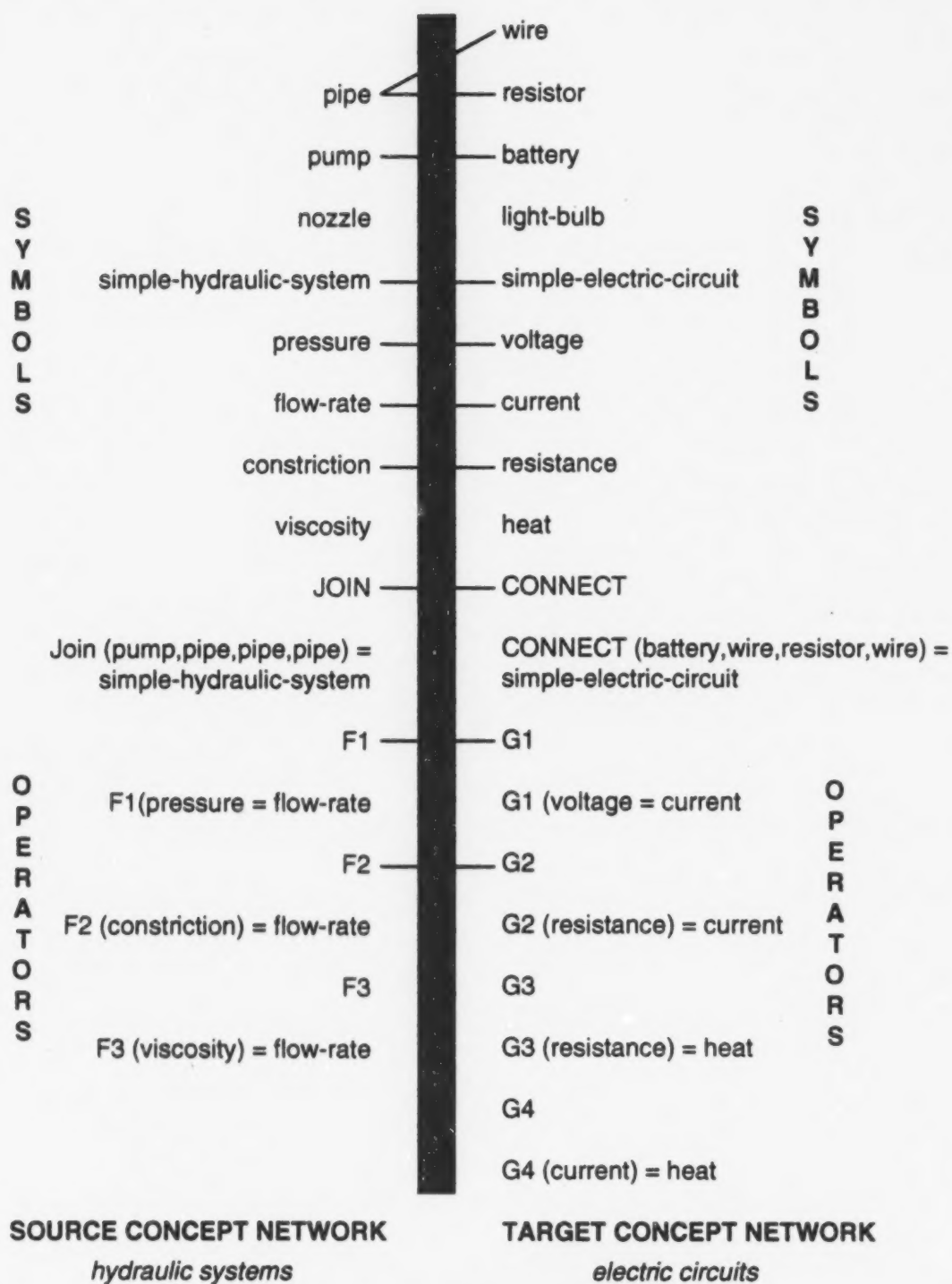


FIGURE 1: Similarity based metaphor.

An example between the source and target concept networks.

Adapted from: Bipin Indurkha. 1992. *Metaphor and Cognition*.

Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. (p. 260)

Used by permission.



Picture 1

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Someday I'll take off and never look back



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

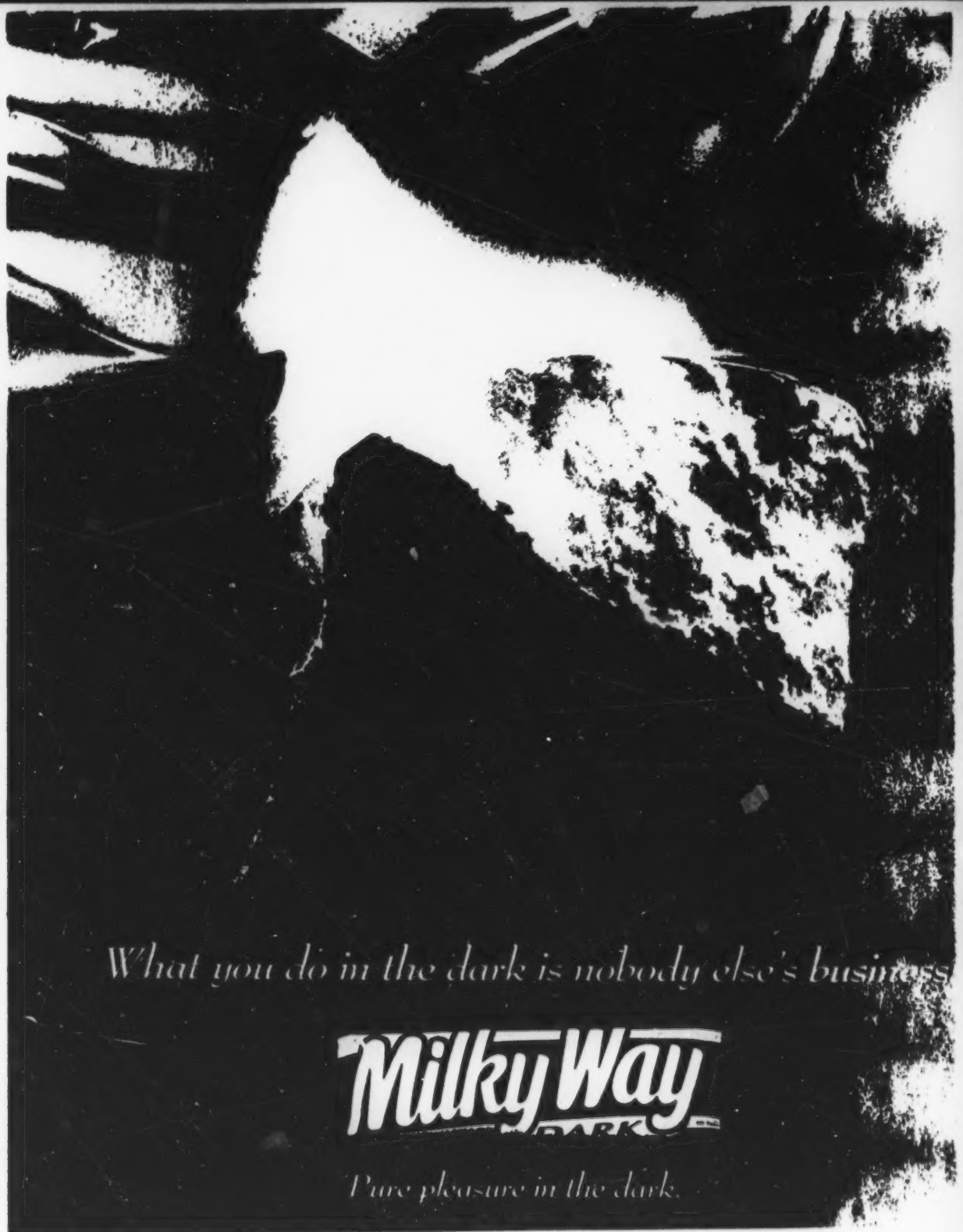
Picture 2



Picture 3

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153



What you do in the dark is nobody else's business.

Milky Way
DARK

Pure pleasure in the dark.

Picture 4

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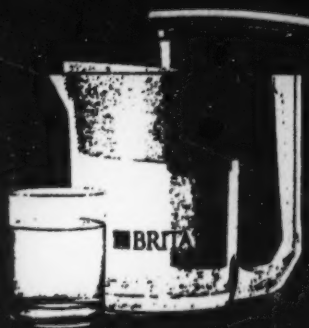


Picture 5

We can't bring you here.

But we can give you a taste.

How far do you have to go for
or, fresh, wonderful water? As
as your faucet. All you need is
Brita® Water Filtration Pitcher.
Just fill with tap water. The
amazing filter does the rest,
reducing chlorine taste, sediment,

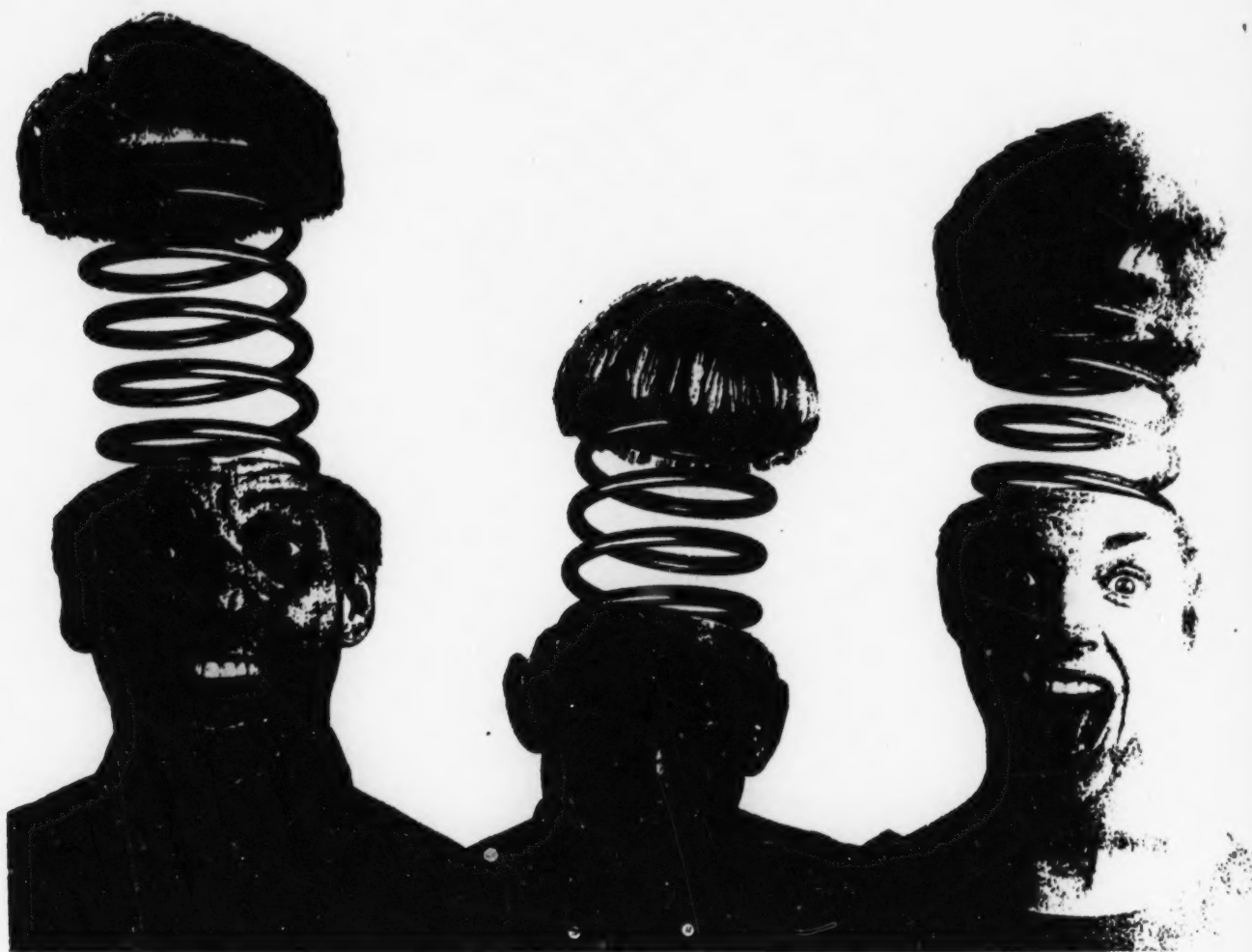


water hardness and copper. It even
removes 91% of lead.

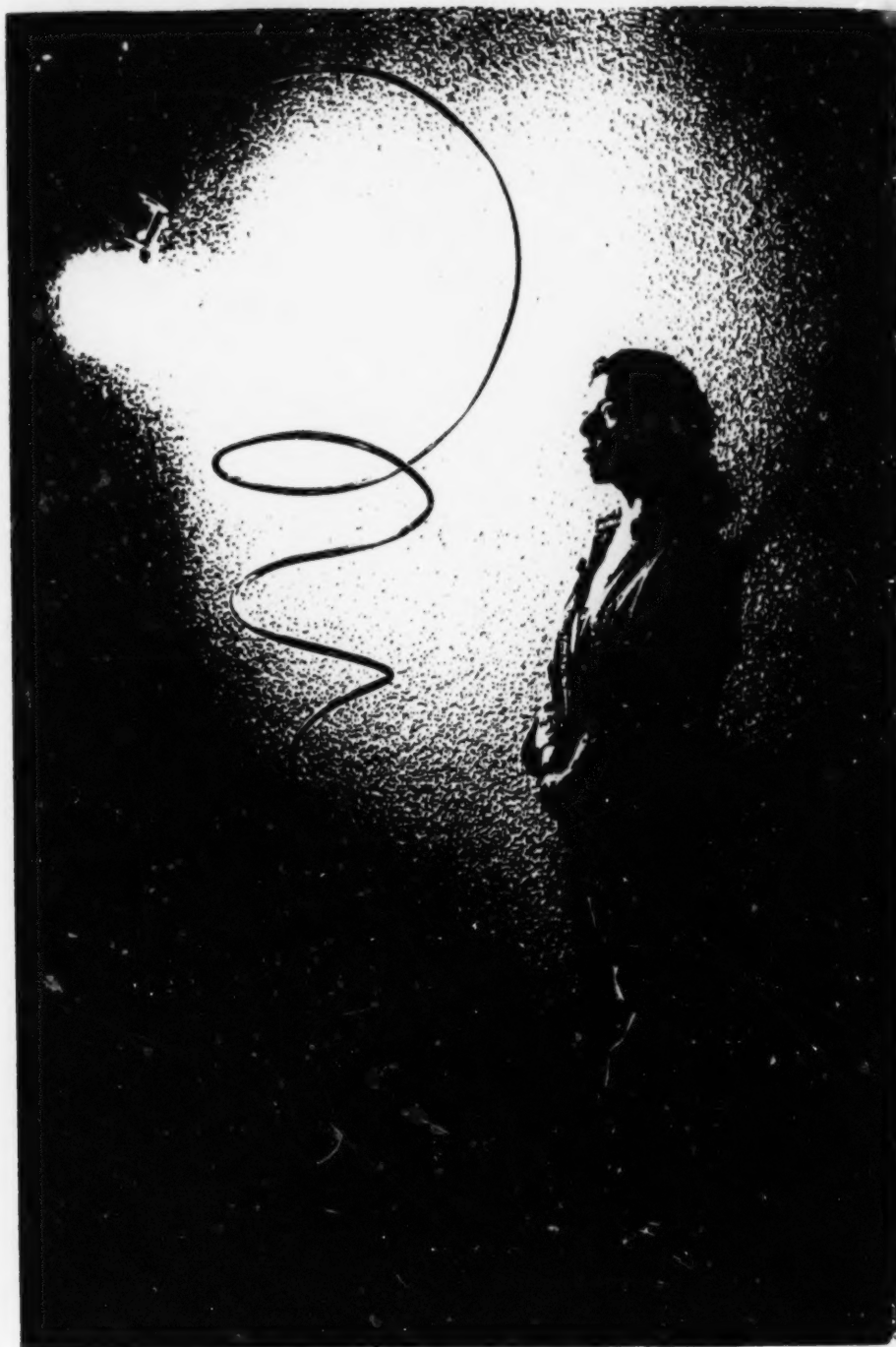
You'll get some of the best
tasting water in the world. And
you don't have to go anywhere.

BRITA
Tap into great taste.

Picture 6



Picture 7



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Picture 8



Picture 9

**IMPERIAL IMAGINARY: PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE
INVENTION OF THE BRITISH RAJ**

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to make a connection between photography and the British rule in India. It specifically discusses the work of Samuel Bourne who travelled and photographed the subcontinent extensively from 1863-70. Analysis reveals that Bourne aided in, what I refer to, as the "imperial imaginary" of the Raj primarily in his photography of the Himalayan landscapes and ancient Indian architecture. Having arrived in India right after the *sepoy* mutiny, Bourne also faced aesthetic and political dilemmas when confronted with the vastness and variety of the land. He constructed a vision of India where he represented it in terms of landscapes, mountains, and monuments and not through the day to day lives of Indians living under the British rule.

IMPERIAL IMAGINARY: PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE INVENTION OF THE BRITISH RAJ

A number of thinkers have argued that modernity consists of the powerful privileging of vision and that it represents a distinctive ocularcentric paradigm, quite different from the organization of vision in previous times. For instance, Heidegger has spoken of the ocularcentrism of the modern age as driven by a nihilism that reduces every presence to images and representations.¹ Derrida likewise views the hegemony of modern vision as an attempt to establish a metaphysics of presence.² And Nietzsche, in turn, critiqued the progressive endeavor to subjugate reality, to overcome otherness and difference, and to make everything present to the inspection of an imperial Gaze as resulting in the necessary production of a seductive illusion. In response, Nietzsche proposed an alternative conception of multiplying perspectives, in which it is not the violence of light that dominates but an illuminating vision that flickers between presence and absence, concealment and disclosure.³

The question of a modern vision underscores the fact that concepts of seeing must be viewed as historically specific -- not only embedded in particular ocular epistemologies organized by optical and discursive figures, but linked to specific discourses and forms of social power, and consequently a particular matrix for organizing the relations between observed and observer, the visible and the invisible.⁴ The invention of photography is a crucial moment in the development of a modern (and colonial) structure of vision and is both constitutive of and constituted by a modern ocular paradigm.

This particular paper will attempt to answer the question, how is photography intrinsically connected to the colonial experience, Empire building and to the ways of 'seeing' the Empire and

¹ Martin Heidegger (1977). *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*. William Lovitt (trans.). New York: Harper and Row.

² Jacques Derrida (1982). "Sending on Representation," *Social Research*, 49.

³ Friedrich Nietzsche (1956). *The Genealogy of Morals*. New York: Doubleday.

⁴ See Jonathan Crary (1991), *Techniques of the Observer: On vision and modernity in nineteenth century*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

its subjects, vis-a-via the camera lens? The invention of photography in the 1800s interestingly coincided with the spread of Britain's domination of the East. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the camera became the ideal tool with which to document and investigate the Empire, and on a broader level, a device to extend the eyes of the occidental public to the frontiers of current exploration.⁵

There has been a renewed interest in British colonialism and colonial discourse analysis especially with the evolution of Postcolonial Studies programs at many academic institutions. The study of colonial history, from this perspective, has reinvigorated the study of 'power' and 'knowledge' reproduced by colonial and national states to provide legitimacy to themselves, in this case, the need for British presence in India. Most work by contemporary Postcolonial theorists have been focused in analyzing eighteenth and nineteenth century literature.⁶ Very little emphasis has been placed on photography as a new and evolving medium of knowledge and representation. With the British rule in India, it had become imperative for the colonial state to procure an image of India which would grant stability to the enterprise and purpose of colonial presence and action, especially after the *sepoy mutiny* of 1857.

On May 10, 1857 *sepoys* (Indian soldiers) in Meerut mutinied against their officers, setting fire to the cantonment before marching on to Delhi and naming the Moghul king, Bahadur Shah Zafar, the emperor of *Hindustan*. This mutiny was not the military insubordination that its name suggests, but a wave of uprisings in which Indian soldiers, princes, religious leaders, and peasants all played a role. Sharpe notes, "When the uprising erupted the British were unable to comprehend, on one hand, the native refusal of foreign rule where there should be consent, and,

⁵ See Suren Lalvani (1996), *Photography, Vision, and the Reproduction of Modern Bodies*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

⁶ See Alison Blunt (1994), *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism*, New York: Guilford; Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (1992), *Western Women and Imperialism*, Indiana University Press; Padmini Mongia (1996), *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory*, London: Arnold; Mary Louise Pratt (1992), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, New York: Routledge; Jyotsna Singh (1996), *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues*, New York: Routledge; Mrinalini Sinha (1995), *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth Century*, Manchester University Press; Sara Suleri (1991), *The Rhetoric of English India*, University of Chicago Press.

on the other, colonial coercion where there should be benevolent guidance."⁷ The British hysteria which followed the mutiny led to the Queen's Proclamation on November 1, 1858 which transferred the administrative duties of the East India Company to the British Crown. And so began a new era of imperial rule in which the monarch of Great Britain became the sovereign, or *Raj*, of India. The decade following the sepoy mutiny, British used the mutiny as a pre-text to developing strategies of counterinsurgency and a tighter form of state administration. The mutiny also required a rearticulation of the British presence in India and of a collective rethinking of the Anglo-Indian relationship. One must ask whether photography, as a burgeoning medium of representation, aided the 'imperial imagination' and the establishment of the British Raj?

Photography During And After the Mutiny

Sepoy mutiny served to stir a vigorous new interest in India among the English as part of the expanding British Empire, most importantly a resurgent desire to comprehend the topographical appearance of the land, which could well be satisfied through the use of the camera. Felice Beato, James Robertson and Dr. Murray were apparently the only photographers to have been immediately attracted from the outside world to India by the mutiny.⁸ These photographers were primarily interested in the sites of Delhi, Kanpur, Meerut, Roorkie, Lucknow, and Benares where most of the actual insurgency had taken place. There were very few photographs taken of the Himalayas, the North West provinces and the Southern Plains. Undoubtedly the mutiny curtailed any plans for expeditionary work with the camera, at least until the British had been satisfied that further colonialist activity on the subcontinent would continue. Melville Clarke and Phillip Egerton published and exhibited several views of the districts north of Simla (foothills of the Himalayas)

⁷ Jenny Sharpe (1993), p. 7, *Allegories of Empire*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

⁸ See Gary David Sampson (1991), "Samuel Bourne and 19th-Century British Landscape Photography in India," Dissertation submitted at the University of California-Santa Barbara.

during the 1860s.⁹ With the difficulty of trekking into areas which were only vaguely known, few photographers wanted to risk going far into the mountains. Clarke and Egerton -- the former an officer of the British army and the latter a civil servant -- represent the first efforts to publicize Himalayas in a photographic form. But both these photographers seem to be limited in their travellings, with Clarke publishing merely 37 and Egerton 36 plates.

Samuel Bourne

This paper will specifically explore the works of Samuel Bourne (1834-1912). Bourne first travelled from Nottingham to India in 1863 as a professional photographer. I am primarily interested in exploring his works for the following reasons: of all contemporary photographers he photographed India most extensively during his seven years stay (unlike Clarke and Egerton, Bourne photographed both the Himalayas and the Plains in his approximately 900 published plates); his photographs were widely circulated in India and England and published regularly in the *British Journal of Photography* (BJP), and the politically charged time when he began taking his photographs and exhibiting them, i.e., few years after the mutiny. Bourne's position in the history of photography as an important pioneer of expeditionary work has been recognized in the past several years where he has been the subject of several exhibitions, articles, monographs, and BBC television programs. However, most scholarly work about Bourne has been about his contribution to landscape photography and the aesthetics which defined and effected his works. Almost nothing has been written about the political and social implications of his photographs to the development of colonial attitudes and how it might be connected to his popularity.

In an attempt to answer the question I posed earlier one needs to engage in a careful analysis of the images with reference to Bourne's written accounts and compare them with the

⁹ See M. Clarke's (1862) *From Simla through Ladac and Cashmere*. Calcutta: Photographic Society of Bengal and P. Egerton's (1864) *Journal of a Tour Through Spiti, to the Frontier of Chinese Thibet*. London: Cundall, Downes and Co.

geographical context of the Indian environment and the time when he was taking the photographs. Here I pose an additional series of questions: How did Bourne see and represent India? What do his photographs tell us about India and Indians and about Anglo-Indian relationship in the late nineteenth century? Were his photographs representative of the Victorian setting from which he himself had emerged? To what extent was he implicated in the re-imagining and re-invention of India during the years after the sepoy mutiny? I use the terms 'imaginary' and 'invention' as labels for the English response to India's disenchantment with British presence and coercion. English newspapers, journals, and pamphlets of the time had been filled with dramatic stories about Anglo-Indian conflicts which subsequently required the Raj to militarily consolidate and expand. Bourne fit into this discourse effectively. While he did not write as extensively as other colonial travellers such as Alexander Duff, Katherine Bartrum, Adelaide Case, and R.M. Coopland, he presented an equally extensive visual image of the subcontinent. Therefore, the significance of this research, in the postcolonial context, is to understand what kind of an India was presented by Bourne in his photographs.

Three Dominant Elements: Landscapes, Architecture, and Peoples

While in Nottingham Bourne had developed an interest in the British countryside which he often captured in his watercolors. The fact that landscapes appealed to him is evident in the sheer amount of photographs he took of the mountains, valleys, ranges, and ravines of the Himalayas. Seeking Indian landscape he undertook three major Himalayan expeditions beginning July 1863 (Sutlej Trek), March 1864 (Kashmir Trek), and June 1866 (Spiti Trek). Simla, the summer capital of the British in the foothills of the western Himalayas, was the base camp for these expeditions.

His first expedition, which lasted about 10 weeks, introduced Bourne to the wilderness and high elevation of the Himalayas and prepared him for the prolonged experience of his next two trips, each lasting 6-8 months. In order to find his way over the miles and miles of trails traversed on his journeys, Bourne consulted the maps and route-book produced by Lieutenant Thomas

Montgomeire, who for nearly 10 years had been surveying the western Himalayas with a team of assistants.¹⁰ Bourne kept extensive notes of his daily experiences while traveling. These he edited as a series of lengthy narratives and then sent back to England to be published in *The British Journal of Photography*.

In between his long, arduous treks through the Himalayas, Bourne often undertook shorter trips to Indian cities where he photographed architecture. Often these architectural images were dominated by a single subject, usually a temple or a ruin. In each town he photographed the primary structure that would be of interest to his English and Anglo-Indian audiences. These photographs were sold in great numbers to English tourists and travellers to India (the commercial success of these photographs encouraged him to establish a studio in Calcutta and one in Simla with a partner, Charles Shepherd). He travelled to Delhi, Kanpoor, Agra, Gwalior, Benares, Roorkie, Lucknow, Ooty, and Tanjore looking for ruins and antiquities.

Ollman, who has provided one of the few exhaustive studies of Samuel Bourne's photographs, writes, "Though Bourne traveled in India's wilderness as well as in its largest cities, we see very few photographs of Indians. When they do appear, they are artfully placed within many images for scale, or to make a scene more authentic. They are presented as incidental to the real scope of India; quaint and colorful to be sure, but not nearly as important as the real estate."¹¹ Like many Britons who arrived in India after the mutiny, Bourne had much more disdain for the Indians than the pre-mutiny reformists who had continued to hold the "civilizing mission" to be the primary goal of the English presence. While establishing his residence in Simla, Bourne took several photographs of the *coolies* and local tribes but these were rare among his collections. He photographed many more English subjects including soldiers, Company officers, *memsahibs* (English women), civil servants, servants to the Viceroy, and tourists.

¹⁰ BJP II, p. 25

¹¹ Arthur Ollman (1983), *Samuel Bourne: Images of India*, Carmel, CA: Friends of Photography.

Analysis

The Dilemma of the Aesthetics and the Politics

Bourne vacillated between his desire to represent India and the Himalayas and his political position as a photographer who had arrived in India during the period after the mutiny. Negative feelings towards the rebellious Indians were high among his compatriots and he was conscious of his position as a colonial English travelling in colonized India. Heading for Simla in 1863, Bourne had taken notes of the places he would return to photograph. About Delhi he writes:

A name sadly famous to every Englishman, you look on its threatening fort without alarm [Red Fort] and enter the gate -- where so many of our countrymen perished -- without hindrance or molestation. Of course, Delhi can't fail to be interesting to the photographers: the Cashmere Gate, the fort, and other noted places must be taken.¹²

Directly referring to the mutiny, he makes his political position clear and displays the intellect of a Briton newly awakened to India by the horrifying events a few years earlier. The question then can be raised: Being embedded with the notion that India had led to the suffering of so many of his countrymen, can Bourne find any beauty and aesthetic pleasure in Indian landscape, architecture, or peoples? Could this lead to an aesthetic and political dilemma for the photographer? The answer is yes.

Especially significant for our understanding of Bourne's photographic dilemma, are the passages of the narratives where he discusses his aesthetic and emotional responses to the Himalayas (particularly during the first two trips) as a place to find and to photograph scenery -- an extremely different and proportionately much larger field for landscape than the one which he was accustomed to at home. He often questioned whether Himalayas scenery offered real aesthetic appeal when viewed in the fragmented forms of the photographic images. On the other hand, there

¹² BJP I, p. 270

was the aesthetic question itself as to whether the Himalayas were as picturesquely endowed as the Swiss Alps and the scenic mountain areas of England and Scotland. Bourne came to India with the idealistic belief that a certain type of scenery was better for the photographic expression of landscape in general. His attitude towards landscape was initially shaped by his prior experience at home, where he had grown to relish the traditional picturesque scenery and comparatively contained scale of the Lake Districts, and the mountains of Scotland and Wales. Concerning British landscape he had written, "Its mountain streams and lovely fertile valleys -- its rustic cottages, overhung with thickly foliated trees -- its cascades and waterfalls -- its lakes, rivers, and verdure -- are especially suited and so combined as to meet the peculiar requirements of the camera."¹³ The passage reveals his conviction -- at least at the beginning of his sojourn in India -- that it contains such the right balance of topographical ingredients to fit neatly with the ground glass of the camera and thus enable the photographer to secure a picturesque scene. Later he calls into question the worthiness of the Himalayas for photography. He admitted that he had not yet been to Switzerland, but from what he had read and seen¹⁴, he felt it was:

...far more pleasing and picturesque than any part I have yet seen in the Himalayas. The mountains here are, no doubt, are greater, higher, and altogether more vast and impressive; but they are not so naked in their outline, not so detached, do not contain so much variety, have no such fertile valleys amongst them, no lakes, no waterfalls, and scarcely any of those fine-pointed peaks which rise from broader summits and lift their pyramids of snow to the skies. This striking and rugged character is just what the artist loves, and which gives such a pleasing charm and variety to all well-chosen and well-executed views of that popular district. Here the mountains are all alike, all having the same general features and outlines, presenting in the aggregate, from their immense extent and size, a scene grand and impressive doubtless, but wanting in variety. For pictures in oil for a large size this

¹³ BJP I, p. 268

¹⁴ In the same passage he mentions having seen "some of M. Bisson's and Mr. England's photographs." Undoubtedly Bourne is referring to Auguste-Rosalie Bisson's views of Mount Blanc in 1862 published in BJP from 1859-62.

scenery might yield many fine subjects as general views, but photography cannot deal with it on an adequate scale.¹⁵

There are many conflicted imaginations that Bourne is struggling with and this is most evident in the above passage. He is struggling with two aspects of visuality: the technological one in which he, recognizing the immense scope of the Himalayas, questions photography's ability to capture the depth of the landscape. The other, the ideological one, in which it is the subject itself (the mountains) which lack an inherent aesthetic quality that it can impress on the film. Bourne himself constantly struggles, perhaps unconsciously so, with several contradictions between his written accounts and his photographs. While he notes, in the above passage, that Himalayas lack "valleys, lakes, fine pointed peaks, and rugged terrain", his photographs speak otherwise since many of them display rugged terrain, valleys, and peaks (examples, plates 1, 2, and 3, Appendix B). He compares Himalayas to the Swiss Alps only to convey the absence of "variety" in the former. The reader is left with an unanswerable dilemma: is it the visual "scale" that makes Himalayas unpalatable to photography? Or is it the lack of visual "variety" that leads to Bourne's aesthetic disappointments? One gets the feeling that Bourne is so astounded by the depth and vastness of India that it irreversibly collides with his sense of superiority (Can anything European, even its mountains, be less significant than the ones in India?). He writes:

Here was I, a solitary lonely wanderer, going Heaven knew where, surrounded by the gloomy solitude of interminable mountains which seemed, in fact, to stretch to infinity on every hand. To attempt to grasp or comprehend their extent was impossible, and the aching mind could only retire into itself, feeling but an atom in the world so mighty, yet consoling itself with the thought that the Power which formed these ponderous masses was greater than they, and that in the marvellous and benevolent operations of that Power, itself, however humble and insignificant, was not lost sight of.¹⁶

¹⁵ BJP II, p. 560

¹⁶ BJP III, p. 23

Wandering through India, carrying a camera for capturing the 'truth,' Bourne understood, in a lucid moment on a mountain pass while contemplating the vastness, that his delicate and specific grasp of reality, his analytical photographic constructs and his enormous sense of rightness were all lost in that immensity. This is perhaps the reason why his narrative falls into the parameters of Judeo-Christian religiosity ("the benevolent operations of the Power" led him "an atom in the world so mighty" to the Himalayas). The fact that he could not record it, could not capture and subjugate it all to his will, depressed him. It was not even possible to bring the insight of that fact to his photographic plate. Instead, he does what Spurr refers to as the "insubstantialization" of the representation, i.e., "an entire tradition of Western writing which makes the experience of the non-Western world into an inner journey, and in so doing renders that world insubstantial, as the backdrop of baseless fabric against which it played the drama of the writer's self."¹⁷ According to Spurr, the history of the West as the West arises out of an orientation that understands the Orient as a space of disorientation. For Bourne, the Himalayas present an enormous material unity where his subjectivity -- British, Colonial, Photographer -- is disintegrating and he projects it onto the outer scene, so that the scene itself becomes the locus of disintegration, confusion, and absence. For Bourne, because 'he' cannot comprehend the vastness, spatialness, and wilderness of the Himalayas, he projects this incomprehension on to the Himalayas (instead of saying, 'I cannot understand it,' he writes, "It cannot make itself known to me"¹⁸).

Being acutely aware of his location as a colonial traveller, Bourne cannot escape the political reality within which he must function (i.e., colonization of India). So, we get a sense of a fractured aesthetic: on one hand it is derisive and melancholy, on the other hand, it is wondrous and awestruck. In a land where "so many of [his] countrymen had perished", Bourne's political will remained irreconcilable with the beauty of the landscape. The natural world of the Himalayas leads to a sense of dilemma for Bourne and one that he cannot really ever resolve.

¹⁷ David Spurr (1993), *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

¹⁸ BJP II, p. 676

Making the Unknown Knowable: Photography as Documentation

J.M. Blaut suggests that by the 1870s, the central proposition of a natural, continuous, and internally generated progress in the European core, was firmly in place. Its truth was no longer being questioned by mainstream thinkers. Subsequently, it led to the "colonizer's model of the world" wherein the wide-ranging theories of cultural differences were reduced to social hierarchies (i.e., civilized vs savage).¹⁹ For Bourne, photography became a perfect tool for the cataloging of social differences. In psycho-analytical terms, what begins as a private experience between the photographer and the subject ends being the collective experience of the archive. This collective experience of colonizing and civilizing makes its central tenet the documenting of the Empire.²⁰ How does Bourne put his camera to use for this purpose?

One could claim that Bourne's interest in photography alone is an evidence of his interests in documenting the Raj. However, one gets a feeling that he is gradually made aware of the significance of his work as a form of cataloging, both the cultural and the scientific. At the end of his first trip to the Himalayas, Bourne boasted that the 147 negatives made of the journey represented "scenery which has never been photographed before, and amongst the boldest and most striking on the face of the globe."²¹ At the same time Bourne wanted to assert that his intentions of photography were purely aesthetic.

In the first place I make no pretensions to scientific travels -- my object was purely pictorial; and though much that was interesting to the botanist and geologist came under my observation, I shall do no more than sometimes refer to the fact without going into any

¹⁹ J. M. Blaut (1993), *The Colonizer's model of the world: Geographical diffusionism and eurocentric history*, New York: Guilford Press.

²⁰ See Anne McClintock (1995), *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the colonial contest*, New York: Routledge.

²¹ BJP I, p. 70

description pertaining to the domains of these sciences, with which I am very imperfectly acquainted.²²

Despite this rather sweeping disclaimer at the beginning of his third trek, Bourne was unable to keep himself from making several detailed references to and taking photographs of the geographical features and topography of the western Himalayas. Most of his commentary was enriched by a fellow Briton who was disclosed as "Dr. G. R. Playfair, of Agra, brother of the celebrated Dr. Lyon Playfair, of Edinburgh, M.P."²³ Playfair had heard of Bourne's trek and had decided to join him during Bourne's final Himalayan expedition. One has good reason to believe that the exchange between the two actually influenced Bourne's choice of subjects. Playfair's interest in fossils and rock formation, i.e., modern geology, effected Bourne enough that he took several photos of varied glaciers and rock formations (eg., plate 4, Appendix B) and was able to comment thoughtfully on their geological significance. Soon one starts to get a feeling that Bourne's interest in not merely the pictorial and aesthetic, as he himself claims, but also as someone who wants to document the natural environment as a modern scientist of his time would.

His zeal for documenting his explorations is most evident when he takes on the arduous task of finding the source of River Ganges. When Bourne finally reached Gangotri on his third trek he was surprised to find only "a rude temple and one or two covered sheds or outhouses" to mark the spot so sacred to the Hindu faith. Since this was not the actual source of the river, he was curious to know why, after coming so far, the faithful did not go a bit further "to the fountain head." He inquired of a few pilgrims who were there at the time of his visit: "They at once replied that this was not necessary -- that the water was equally pure and effacious here, and being three or four miles of the source (to which there was no road) it was all the same." He continued:

But if they were satisfied without going to the source, I was not; the water was not pure enough for me. I must take it from the very beginning of their sacred river, and washing my hands in innocency of leaving the very spring of its existence unexplored.²⁴

²² BJP III, p. 570

²³ BJP III, p. 571

²⁴ BJP III, p. 39-126

A considerable amount of perseverance was necessary to go the extra distance; short as it was, the trek included the fording of an especially "deep and rapid" section of the waters, which was soon accomplished.

However, we reached our destination at last, and I felt a degree of satisfied curiosity, and that I ought to consider myself a privileged mortal in being to gaze on this the first visible issue of the mighty and holy Ganges from the vast ice beds which cradle its birth.²⁵ (see plate 5, Appendix B)

The triumph of discovery was thus acknowledged by Bourne, its significance particularly residing in the fact that very few individuals have gone to such lengths to see the place, let alone photograph it. Here his efforts at documenting reaches the very height of exploration writing when he views a sacred site for the Hindus as a place of discovery (rather than sacred). The desire for documentation has required Bourne to go much beyond the usual realm of a pictorial photographer. He could have scarcely understood the meaning the Ganges has in the cosmic scheme of the Hindu and that they would not have comprehended Gangotri in the same way, neither as a geological formation, nor as a feature of the environment to be visualized as a landscape.

More than the Himalayas Bourne's interest in documentation of the Empire is made obvious by his large collection of photographs of Indian architecture.²⁶ Bourne took several shorter trips to different parts of India in between his treks to the Himalayas (see Appendix A). Much of Bourne's approach to the photography of Indian architecture is marked, according to Sampson, by the notion of "singularity," the term defined as the "intellectual and emotional pleasure associated with the discovery and consequent documentation of unfamiliar, unusually

²⁵ BJP III, p. 122

²⁶ He was largely influenced by James Fergusson and Alexander Cunningham in this effort. Bourne was aware of Fergusson's publications such as *On the Study of Indian Architecture* (1867; London: John Murray) and *History of Indian and East Indian Architecture* (1867; London: John Murray). Bourne had also met Cunningham, who had founded the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861.

formed, or otherwise exotic phenomena."²⁷ His Indian architectural photographs are often unaccompanied by long essays unlike his photographs from his trips to the Himalayas. Looking at his various collection, one gets a feeling that his photographs, generally, can be categorized in the following ways: (a) ancient architecture of India and (b) modern architecture of the British. There are no photographs of architecture that was contemporary and, what he perceived, as Indian. In fact, if one looks at his collection in its entirety, one gets no sense of the life for an Indian during the Raj. Plates 6 and 7 (Appendix B) are good examples of singular panoramic way in which the photographer wanted to capture the antiquities of Indian architecture.²⁸

Plate 8, however, needs a brief analysis. This photograph, like the city itself (Benares), appears to be more cluttered and one of the rare times when Indians, animals, and architecture are captured together by Bourne. About Benares, one of the holiest cities for Hindu pilgrimage, located on the banks of Ganges, the photographer writes:

The streets are so narrow and so crowded that it is difficult to get along them; and as you wind through these narrow defiles, turning sharp angles, entering dark and obscure passages, threading your way through dark and interminable bazaars, you are lost and confused in the intricate labyrinth. At length, however, your guide leads you to the foot of the flight of steps, which lands you on the platform of the great Mohammedan mosque by which Benares is known, and which forms so conspicuous an object from the river.²⁹

Benares had attracted its fair share of British visitors and artists prior to Bourne's arrival. One of the major features for these, as it was for the photographer, was the visual extravaganza of those who came to bathe on the *ghats* and to conduct the last rites for the dead. The Hindu custom of burning bodies, which Bourne witnesses and writes about, seemed to be rather an unsavory business. We are able to see the burning ghat from a safe distance (on the right hand corner) in

²⁷ Sampson, p. 280

²⁸ I am limiting my analysis here only to his photographs of Indian architecture. The analysis of his photographs of British architecture including churches, schools, military cantonments, British enclaves, and hill stations requires a book-length manuscript of its own.

²⁹ The mosque he refers to was built during the Moghul period (early 17th century) by Aurangzeb; BJP I, p. 269

plate 8. In accordance with his usual avoidance of portraying the native environment with any real intimacy, Bourne's interest in the burnings was limited to the following passage:

Five or six savage-looking men were heaping wood on the blazing piles, but I could discern through the flames the roasting skull and feet of one of the bodies. One of them was that of a young woman, whose husband stood by evidently regarding the horrid spectacle with the highest satisfaction. On every hand you are reminded of the religious zeal of this deluded people. Their gods -- hideous, shapeless monsters -- are daubed on every wall, and adorn hundreds of little dirty so-called temples.³⁰

Bourne's constant efforts at cataloging does not extend to the human element of the ghats, especially the grisly details of a cremation. His sensibilities are so horrified by the burning process that he feels that it is not worth recording. His interest in the architectural spectacle excludes an analysis of mundane day to day existence during the Raj. In this section I wanted to show that Bourne selected elements of India and Indian life which he deemed to be worth knowing for his English audiences, that his process and method of documentation had a certain intentionality and political order. I will return to this point in the conclusion.

That Bourne's photographs had value as documenting Indian environment was recognized by the photographer's contemporaries. On the occasion of a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society, May 25, 1869, the following discussion ensued about Bourne's Himalayan prints:

He [the President] dwelt, on the fact that great as the value of these works of art, they had besides additional value as serving to depict some exceedingly important geological phenomena. They were taken rather for artistic effect than for scientific purposes, but they show that if such pictures are executed with care and intelligence, they are likely to render no little assistance to the accurate delineation of geological phenomena. He was quite sure that the geological problems which have yet to be solved for this country would, to a great extent, be elucidated by pictures of this kind.³¹

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ "Quarterly Meeting," *Journal of the Bengal Photographic Society*, n.s. 1 (Sept 1869), p. 9-10

Besides geology, the other major scientific category in the documentation of India to which Bourne was perceived to have contributed was in the area of archeology. From the minutes of the Bengal Photographic Society during 1869-71, there are many references to Bourne's photographs of Buddhist, Hindu, Jain, and Moghul structures. Without doubt Bourne had assisted to a large extent in the fostering of activity in this area, which in the beginning of the decade, had still been in its early stages of development. Now not only was the government finally responding to the entreaties of Fergusson and others by starting to amass large numbers of prints by a variety of amateur and professional photographers, but photo-illustrated books and folio with descriptive texts were being published in India and England.³² Thus, Bourne played a critical role in the efforts to make the British public not only read about India, but also to 'see' India.

The Indispensable Coolies

In this section, I briefly want to discuss Bourne's photography of Indians. As I have mentioned earlier, Bourne's colonial derision for the natives led to a general lack of interest in them and their lives. At the same time, he depended on Indians for the success of his many trips. The word coolie here is being used to refer to the large numbers of Indian servants, porters, and guides that Bourne's entourage was often comprised of. For example, during his expeditions to the Himalayas, sometimes he would have up to 40 coolies travelling with him. However, "hale and robust" Bourne thought of himself, he could never have undertaken his Himalayan expedition without the aid of his retinue of personal servants and porters. For the two longer trips especially, he required an enormous amount of supplies, and so had to arrange for "hire" of a large number of coolies to bear the loads. About them he writes, "Quite a little army in themselves, in addition to

³² Some of the more successful books were Henry Hardy Cole's *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir* (1869; London: William Allen and Co.), Charles Shepherd and Cole's *The Architecture of Ancient Delhi, especially the buildings around Kutb Minar* (1872; London: Arundale Society for Promoting the Knowledge of Art), and Colin Murray's *Photographs of Architecture and Scenery in Gujerat and Rajputana* (1873; London: Marion and Co.).

these was my staff of servants and six dandy bearers."³³ When tired of walking, and "when the road might be practicable," he would then be carried along in a *jumpun* (a hand-pulled conveyance used by the British in the narrow roads of the hill stations). He often looked upon his reluctant hired help as little better than pack animals, recounting on his Kashmir journey that he had to change them "at every stage, which necessitated my sending on a servant a day or two in advance to have them readiness." At one village he noted how "the poor unfortunate wretched had been crammed together in a sort of loft, and the ladder removed to prevent their escape, which they otherwise would have made good, as they by no means like being puckeroed to carry loads." No sooner had they taken up their loads and proceeded for a few miles on the trail, the coolies fled one by one. Their attempt at mutiny was futile, for, having equipped himself "with a stout stick," the irate photographer discovered them hiding in the next village, and "dragging them forth, I made them feel quality of my stick."³⁴

Besides using Indians as coolies, several of Bourne's servants appear in his photographs, primarily to provide a human element to the depth and size of the scenery. For example, in plate 9 we see an Indian, in shade, nurtured between the path and the trees. In plate 10 we see one of Bourne's servants, again, providing a scale to the plant life which is the focus of this photograph. Sometimes he would photograph them from a great distance, for example, looking down, several thousands of feet, on a glacier or a valley to give the viewer a sense of depth (plate 11). Very rarely are the Indians the locus of photographic attention.

However, in what must be one of his last photographs to be taken in India, he documented eleven villagers of the Nilgiri hill tribe known as the *Todas* (plate 12). This is the only photograph in Bourne's entire collection which not only captures the tribe people but also their dwellings. The crude forms of the two huts are constructed of natural materials -- wood, mud, and grass -- and appear almost a part of the hillside on which they have been located. Unlike his other photographs, where the scenic is stressed at the expense of the descriptive, the Toda *mund*

³³ BJP II, p. 474

³⁴ BJP II, p. 499

(village) group picture informs the viewer about a part of indigenous South India through its relatively ethnographic handling.³⁵ This is an exceptional image from Bourne where he essentially leaves the viewer with an unmediated, physically tangible impression of the Todas, about their buildings and dress.

Conclusion

Samuel Bourne's photography of India was a landmark for visualization of the expanding British empire. His arrival to the subcontinent very shortly after the mutiny and his intentions to photograph and document all elements of India, including the British presence, points to a deep involvement of the photographer in the making of the colonial rule.³⁶ It is not very clear why Bourne, originally, selected to come to India for his photographic journeys. One could speculate that India had begun to enthrall the imagination of the English audiences and it would be fitting that a photographer would want to capture it in his camera. Bourne had been intrigued by the increasing significance of photography not only in advancing one's immediate visual comprehension (i.e., portraits) but also of geography on a world-wide scale.³⁷ Having arrived in India, Bourne embarked on a pictorial visualization which was overwhelmed by his political and cultural location. While he was, at best, ambivalent about the landscape and architecture he was capturing, the people were aesthetically and ethnographically uninteresting. The scope of the Empire coincided well with Bourne's vision: the land was far more important than its people. However far Bourne penetrated into the unfamiliar world of the indigenous habitat and space,

³⁵ Bourne had previously made one attempt to capture the life of Indians in India during his stay. It is the series entitled, "Rustic scenes and Village Life in Bengal." Photographed during 1868, these are 10 plates which show tropical villages not far from Calcutta. Though these photographs have very few architectural reminders of colonial rule, they do not include photographs of Indians. It appears that the simple bucolic life of the rural peasant, excluding the peasant himself, in art history is transposed to the exotic locale of the Bengal village.

³⁶ An analysis of his series of photographs about the British presence in India has not been included in this paper because of the need for brevity, it clearly requires added attention from scholars.

³⁷ See Bourne's article titled, "On some requisites necessary for the production of a good photograph," *Nottingham Athenaeum Society Magazine* (Aug 1860, p. 5-34)

whatever glimpse he offered his readers in the *British Journal of Photography*, the photographer kept his viewer at a careful remove from the unseemly side of the diverse life of the peoples of India. In doing so, he 'constructed' a kind of safe India that could be studied, even scrutinized for its finer forms, scientific and artistic, while the realities of poverty, colonial oppression, and famine, could be kept at bay. In many ways, he invented an imaginary India, filled with landscapes, mountains, and monuments, pictorially subsuming with a fascinating past, but inherently subservient to the aesthetic and political spirit (and reign) of the English.

APPENDIX A

Samuel Bourne: A Chronology

- 1834 Born Oct. 30, Muckleston, Staffordshire border; education: Market Drayton Grammar School.
- 1851 Sees his first photographic image, a daguerreotype of his uncle.
- 1859 Exhibits his own photographs of the Nottingham countryside at the Nottingham Photo Society, Jan 7-15.
- 1862 Oct 15, embarks for India on a steamer *Queen of the South*.
- 1863 Lands in India at Madras; arrives in Calcutta on Jan 22. Mid-Feb leaves for Simla and arrives there on March 1. Second week of April begins photographing Simla and the surrounding vicinity. On July 29 leaves on his Sutlej river trek and returns Oct 12
- 1864 Leaves for the first part of the Kashmir trek on March 17 and returns to Lucknow on Dec 24; Takes gold and silver medal during the Bengal Photo Society Exhibition
- 1865 Photographs "North-West Scinde Valley" including Lahore, Peshwar, and Sealkot. During Winter 65-66, he takes photograph of all mutiny related sites and other cities of upper-India including Agra, Benares, Bharatpur, Kanpur, Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri, Lucknow, Gwalior, Mathura, Mussorie and Simla
- 1866 June leaves to reach the sources of Ganges and Jamuna rivers; Is accompanied by Dr. George Rankin Playfair; Returns to Simla in Dec.
- 1867 Leaves for England to wed Mary Tolley in June
- 1868 In Jan photographs Bengal
- 1869 Visit Darjeeling in Spring; In June arrives in Madras and makes photographic expeditions to South Indian temples, Ootacamund, and the surrounding Nilgiri hills
- 1870 Sails, with family, from Bombay Nov 27 to return to England
- 1871 Joins his brother-in-law as a partner in a cotton doubling business
- 1912 Having given up photography all together for the rest of his life, Bourne spent more and more time on tennis, watercolor painting, and his booming business. April 24 dies of a heart attack.

APPENDIX B



Plate #1

Valley and Snowy Peaks, Seen from the Hamra Pass, Spiti Side, 1866. (*Bourne #1444.*)



Plate #2

A "Bit" on the New Road, near Rogi, 1866. (*Bourne* #1506.)

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Plate #3

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The Village of Kot, Kulu, 1866. (Burns #1428)



Plate #4

The Cliff, Near View, 1866. (Garrett #1503.)

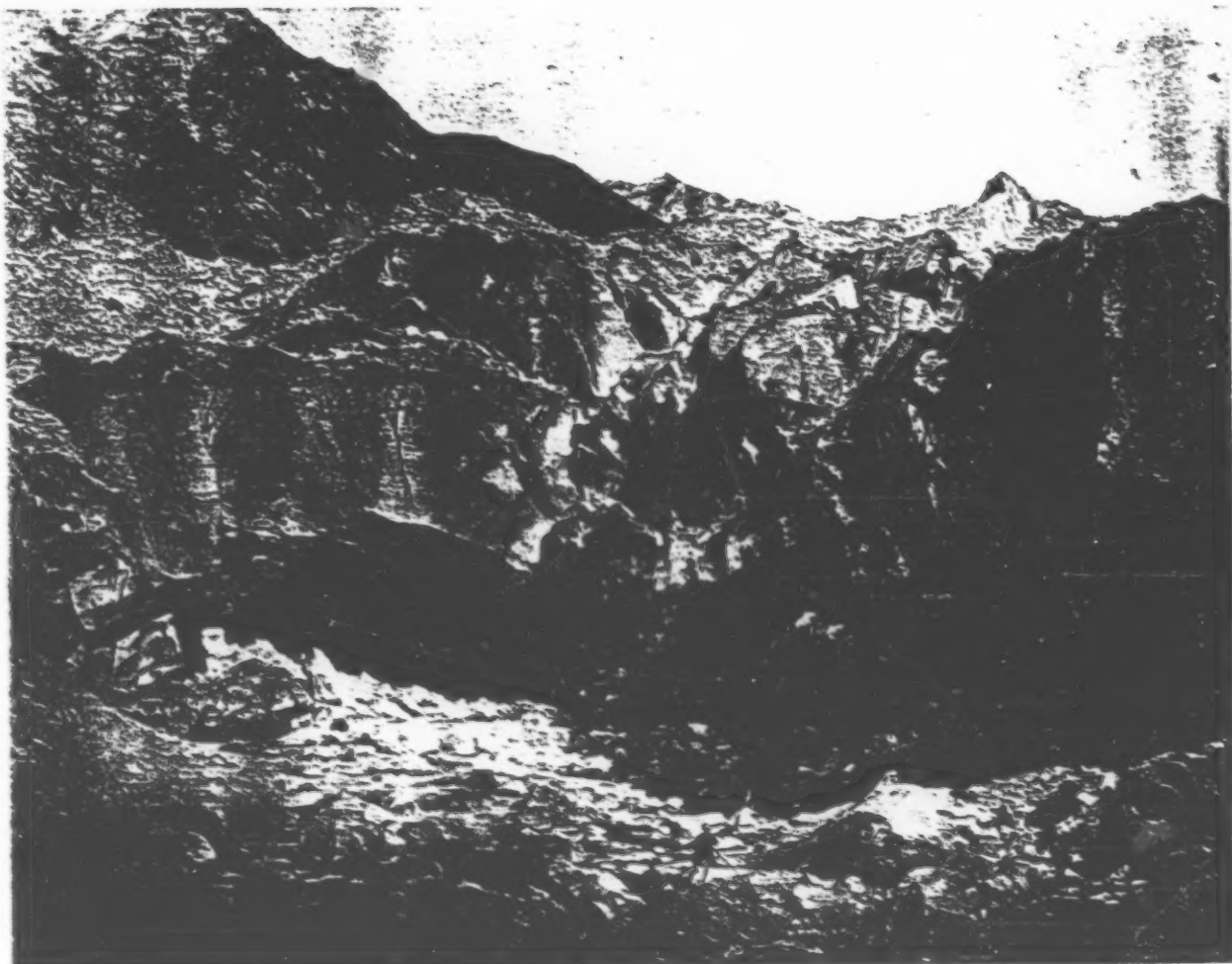


Plate #5

The Sides of the Canyon. The view at the Entrance of the Canyon. (Plate #5)

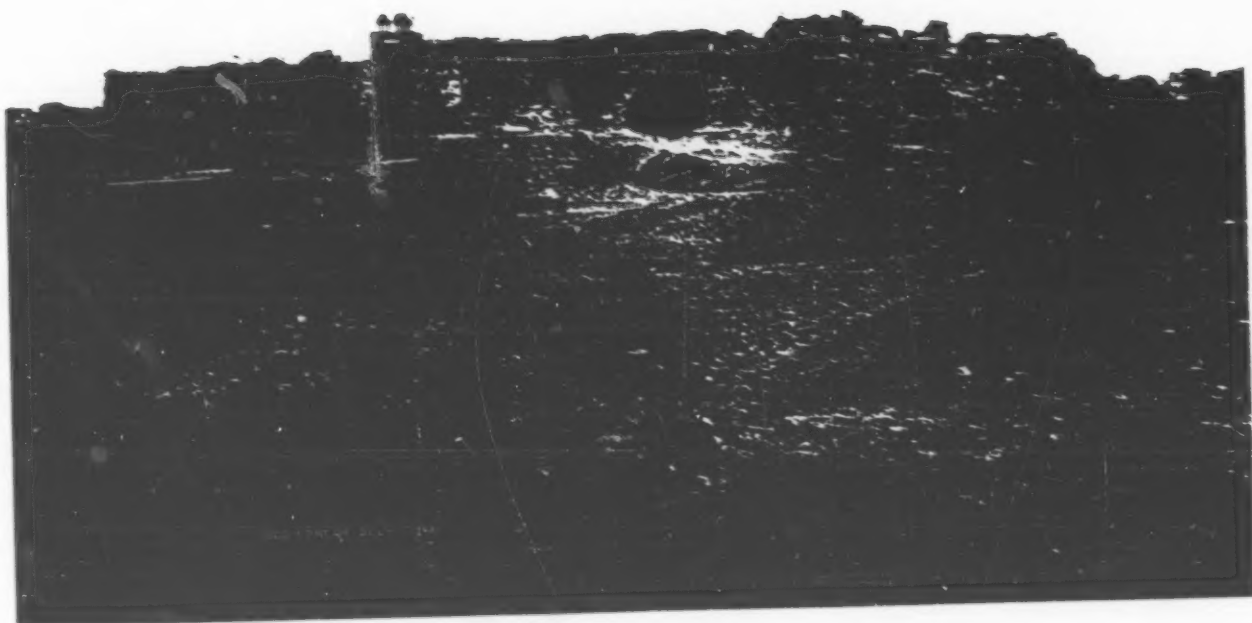


Plate #6

The Purana Kila, Old Fort of Delhi. 1864. (British #10000)

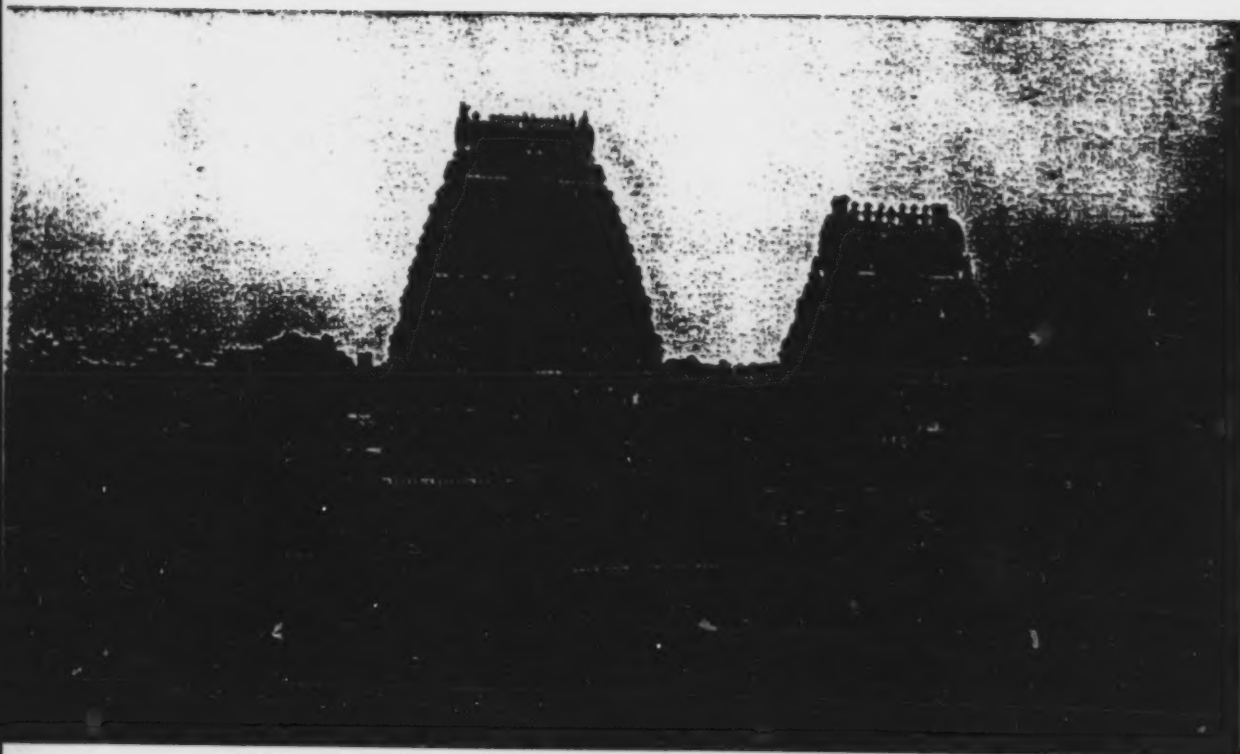


Plate #7

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Two Pagodas from the top of the Thousand-Pillared Hall, Trichinopoly, 1868. (Bourne #2061.)



Plate #8

The Great Mosque of Arungzebe, and Adjoining Ghats, Benares, 1865. (Bourne #1168.)



Plate #9

Simla in Winter. View from the Bowlee near "Glenarm," 1868. (*Bourne* #1772.)

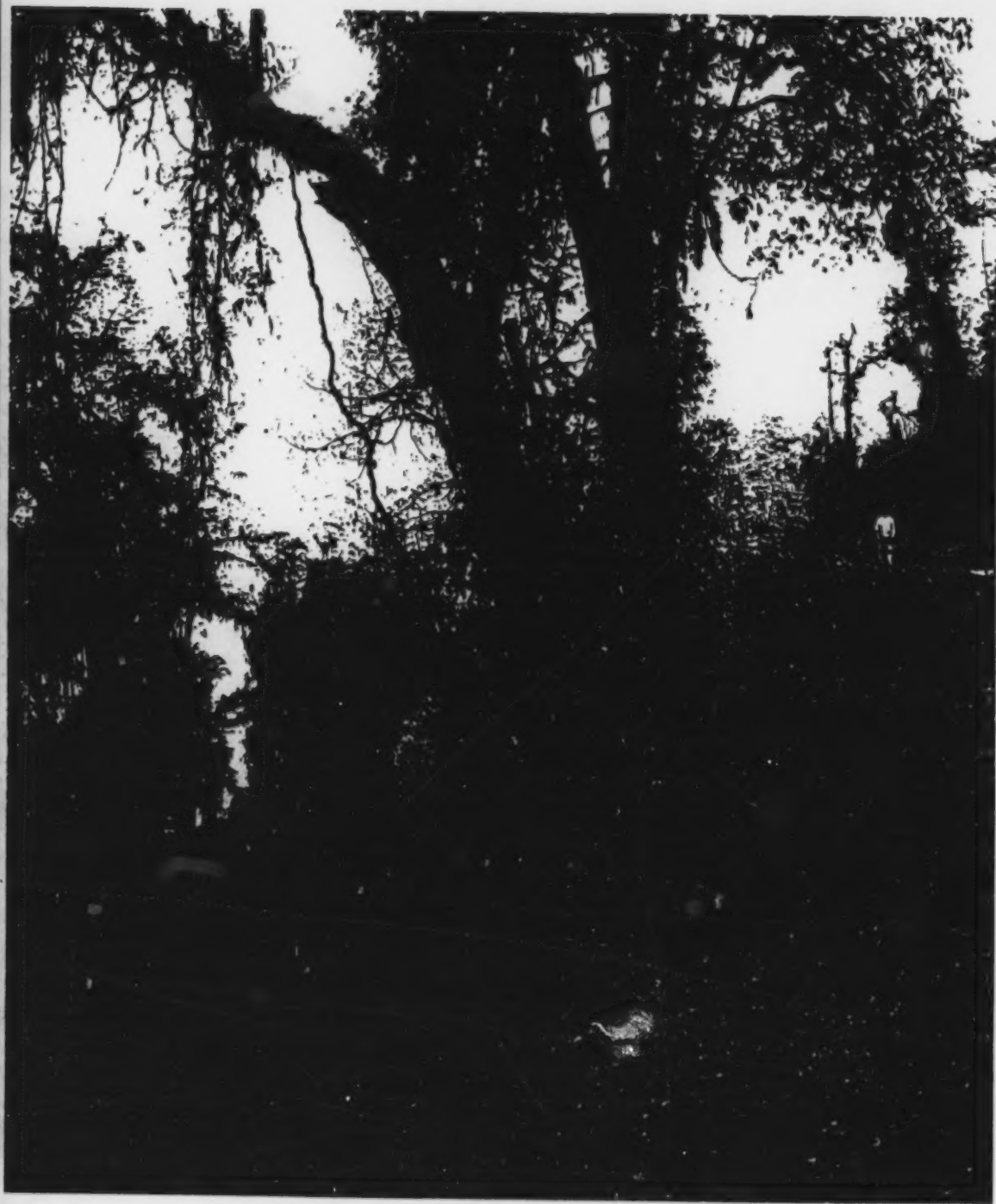


Plate #10

On the Road around Birch Hill, Darjeeling, 1869. (*Bourne #1891.*)

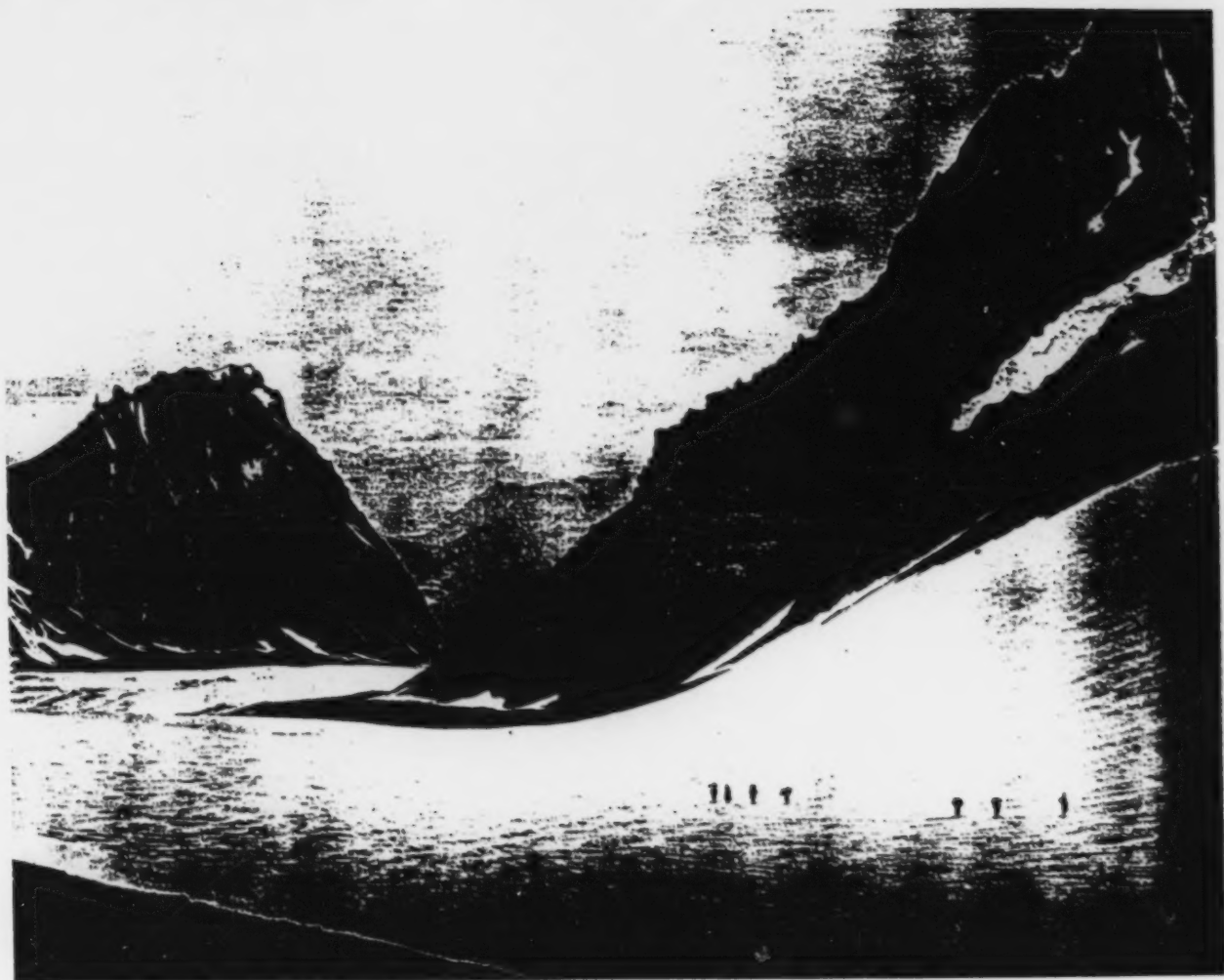


Plate #11

The Maurung Pass, elevation (S.O.) feet, 1800. (Barry #1218)

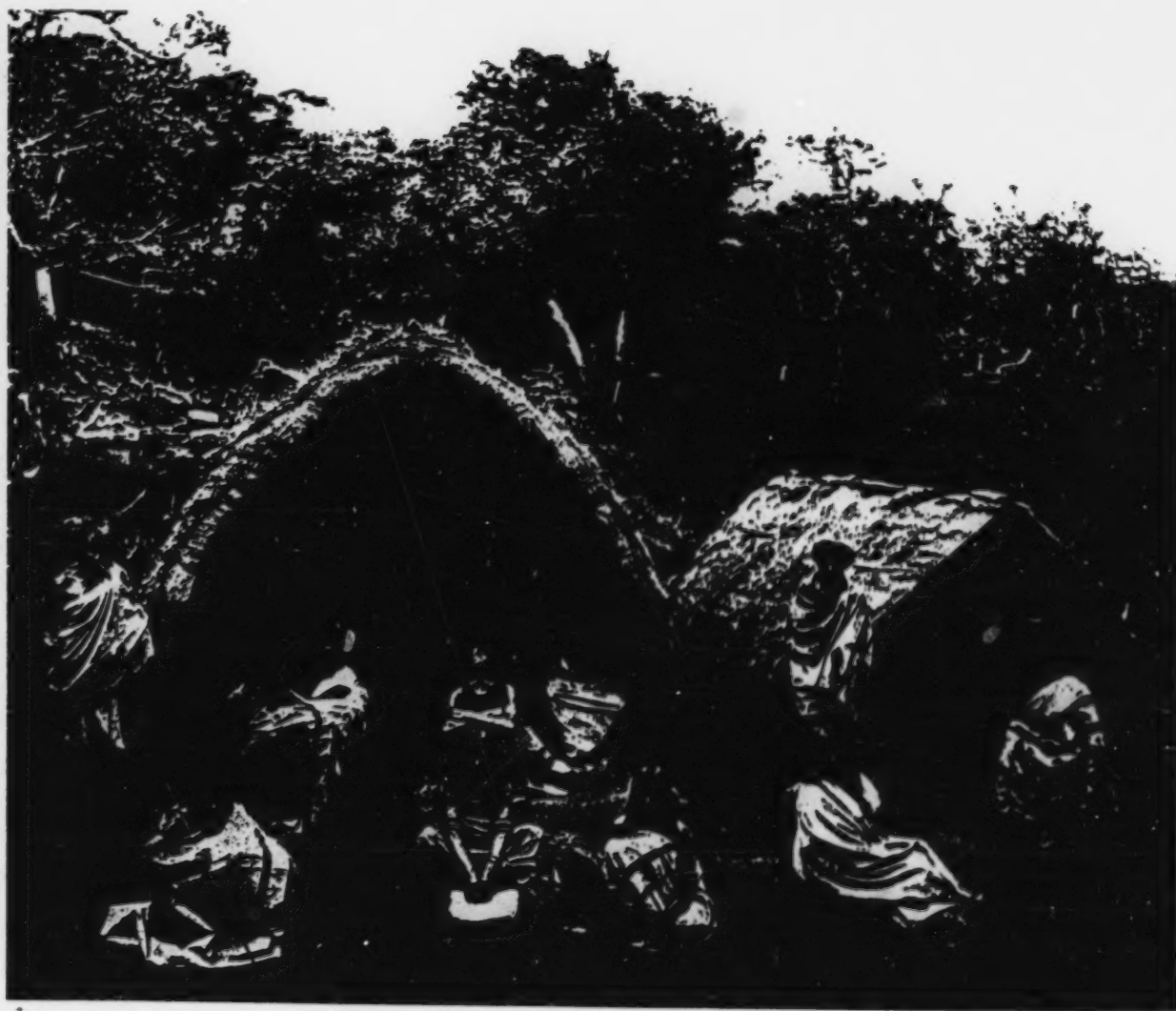


Plate #12

Toda Mund, Village and Todas, 1869. (*Bourne #2020,1*)

**INFLUENCING CREATIVITY IN NEWSROOMS:
A SURVEY OF NEWSPAPER, MAGAZINE, AND WEB DESIGNERS**

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**INFLUENCING CREATIVITY IN NEWSROOMS:
A SURVEY OF NEWSPAPER, MAGAZINE, AND WEB DESIGNERS**

ABSTRACT

Editorial designers (newspaper, magazine and web) are an integral part of the creative process in the newsroom, yet no research has been done in this area. This study provides insight into what influences the creative abilities of designers by analyzing their personality characteristics and thinking strategies as well as independent variables relevant to their working conditions. Understanding how to foster creativity in design will help newspapers and magazines stay competitive, and help web designers understand more about their nascent medium.

**INFLUENCING CREATIVITY IN NEWSROOMS:
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INTRODUCTION

The subject of one of the first conferences of the Society of News Design (then called the Society of Newspaper Design) was creativity. Designers were asked what made their juices flow. Some reveled in the luxury of no time pressures and others liked strict deadlines; some needed to be relaxed, others wanted to be in a "combat zone." Designers said they needed the freedom to let their minds wander and being silly; they were inspired by looking at the work of others and being around creative people. The conference also included a session on managing creative people with the caveat that, yes, creative people are different from ordinary folks.

More than a decade later, designers and scholars are still pondering the same subject. Many of the ideas about creativity today are the same as they were then. It is a much-studied subject of enduring importance that is fraught with incongruities and unresolved questions.

Research has focused on identifying the components of creativity, differentiating predictor variables in creative people, and investigating methodologies to develop or enhance creativity. Scholars in psychology, art, education, business, science and mathematics have intensively investigated creativity. In mass communication, creativity is studied mainly in advertising and reporting/writing. This research extends the work to the field of visual communication – a field where creativity is an indispensable commodity, yet precious little empirical knowledge is available. Creativity has not been studied specifically in editorial design (newspaper, magazine, and web) and we cannot be assured that this population is sufficiently similar to populations of artists, writers, advertising professionals, or others that have been studied. Many in the news business argue that theirs

is not the same as other occupations; that a news designers' mission of communicating content in an aesthetically pleasing manner and doing it with strict deadlines and immense legal pressure is unique. In addition, designers and the design process are so understudied in mass communication that we are still in the exploratory stages. We concentrated on gathering data in order to form narrower, testable hypotheses for future studies. Our overarching research question for this study is: What influences the creative abilities of newspaper, magazine, and web designers? We were interested in variables that best predict creativity in this population. This subject is of importance for designers who wish to enhance their own creative potential, for editors who wish to hire designers likely to produce creative work, and for publishers who know that creative and innovative work sells the product. Knowledge about creativity and journalists will contribute to both theory and practice. An understanding of how to foster creativity in design will help newspapers and magazines stay competitive and will help web designers understand more about their nascent medium.

LITERATURE REVIEW

While some creative people encourage the idea that creativity has an elusive, inherently magical quality, in fact, creativity can be quantified and measured with an acceptable degree of validity and reliability. The process of creativity was analyzed as early as 1926 (Wallas) and has been the subject of extensive research. One early insight into creativity is the necessity of "divergent thinking" (Guilford, 1967). Divergent thinking seeks new frameworks for problems and tends toward the unknown or novel, whereas convergent thinking skills are more oriented toward seeking the known or "right" solution. Most definitions of creativity are characterized either in terms of the product, i.e.: an innovation, discovery, or novel recasting of existing things, or by the person or process, i.e.: the type of personality or behavior that produces innovative ideas (Hennessey & Amabile, 1988).

There is actually a close relationship between the two definitions, says Pagano (1979). "Content and process are interdependent and are facilitated by the individuals" (pp. 131). Perhaps one of the most widely used definitions is that of E. Paul Torrance who says creativity is the process of becoming "sensitive to problems, gaps in information, unsolved problems, missing elements, and things that are incomplete or out of focus" (Torrance, 1988, 48).

Although there are limitations in defining creativity, there is agreement that creative thinking is innate and can be nurtured. There is also agreement on many of the characteristics of creative people and the environment in which creativity occurs.

The most encouraging finding in creativity research is that, while there are tremendous individual differences in innate creative abilities, "it also is absolutely true that every individual can raise his or her creative skill, creative productivity, and creative living to a higher level . . . all of us can make better use of the creative abilities we were born with" (Davis, 1991, 236).

The literature in mass communication documents the importance of creativity to this field. Nerone and Barnhurst (1995) trace the change in newspapers' focus from text to visuals and cite the contribution of design innovation. Creativity is repeatedly named as a necessary ingredient in successful visual communications (Utt & Pasternack, 1993; Miller, 1992), yet it is bemoaned as being in short supply (Shepard, 1996). The Society of News Design journal *Design* once published an entire issue on creativity (May, 1988). However, most of the mass communication literature specific to design deals with creativity by using anecdotes, giving tips on ways to enhance creativity that worked for one person, or relating design ideas that were considered creative (Watson, 1992; Cutsinger, 1988;). As Turow (1982) noted, there is a large body of literature on creativity or innovation, yet only a few articles even mention mass media.

Research in psychology and business provides the most concrete knowledge of variables that affect creativity. From an extensive reading of articles we categorized the salient variables for our study as follows:

- **Personality characteristics:** These include flexibility of attitude – tolerance of error in the early stages of creative thinking and intolerance in the latter stages (Wallach, 1967), and the ability to live with ambiguity (Sternberg & Lubart, 1991, 1993) and adapt to almost any situation (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). A preference for complex things was also noted (Pagano, 1979). Creative persons have high self-esteem (Davis, 1991) and the personal courage to disagree with the majority (MacKinnon, 1967). They are more willing to take risks, defy conventions, and propose ideas that may seem silly (Davis, 1991; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Sternberg & Lubart, 1991, 1993). Playfulness is also a characteristic of creative people (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Einstein, 1955), as is a love of their work to the point of total absorption (Davis, 1991; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Sternberg & Lubart, 1991, 1993). Creative people tend to derive intrinsic satisfaction from their work rather than seek rewards or approval from others (Raudsepp, 1978; Amabile, 1983; Hennessey & Amabile, 1988). Kris (1952) believes that it is essential in creative thinking to daydream and fantasize. It is also generally agreed that IQ beyond 120 no longer correlates with higher creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Chambers, 1969; Walberg & Herbig, 1991; Barron, 1961).

- **Background and training:** Creativity has been shown to require a prior knowledge of content and technique, yet one must also possess the ability to free oneself from the confines of that knowledge. In other words, becoming an “expert” can actually inhibit creativity (Sternberg & Lubart, 1991; Kagan, 1967; Bruner, 1973; Piaget, 1970).

- **Corporate culture and management style:** An open management style, where one is encouraged to express ideas and emotions, is better for producing creativity than a critical, closed environment (Wallach, 1967; Rogers, 1954.). Feeling secure and

unafraid of the consequences of making mistakes is also important (Faulkes, 1975; Wallach, 1967). In creative work environments, challenge and risk-taking are the norm (Koberg & Chusmir, 1987). A corporate culture that permits association with other creative individuals is important (Pagano, 1979), as is guidance from another creative person (Tanner, 1975). Similarly, the concept of brainstorming recurs as a significant variable in creativity studies. It is said that brainstorming, where judgment is deferred and unusual, or even wild ideas are encouraged, allows people to consider many ideas before settling on one solution (Davis, 1991; Osborn, 1963; Moriarty & Vandenberg, 1984).

- **Physical environment:** The physical setting such as the decor of an office or a window with a view may stimulate creative thinking (Ward, 1969; Farnham, 1994). One study (Mohan, 1971) found that a room with a variety of objects in view produced higher creativity than did a barren room, and that creative functioning could be enhanced by training people to scan the physical environment.

- **Constraints:** Other variables discussed in the literature include enough time and resources to produce creative work (Finberg, 1990; Moriarty & Vandenberg, 1984; Dentler & Mackler, 1964). In one study, subjects with a choice of materials to create from showed more creativity than those with no choice (Amabile & Gitomer, 1984). In another study (Amabile, DeJong & Lepper, 1976), college students given deadlines showed less intrinsic motivation than did their counterparts without deadlines.

Recently, researchers have suggested that many of the variables that influence creativity must be present at the same time in order for creativity to occur (Dellas & Gaier, 1970; Sternberg & Lubart, 1991; Csikszentmihalyi, 1988).

METHODOLOGY

Studying creativity is difficult since it is generally necessary to employ several complex questionnaires and other supervised and timed tests in order to thoroughly measure all

aspects of creativity. This exploratory study was undertaken to add empirical evidence to the body of intuitive knowledge on creativity in editorial design. It is based on applying a short personality test and other creativity measures to the 1,660 members of the Society of News Design in the United States and Canada. While a non-random sample, this inquiry into designers' creativity should help deepen our understanding of the design process.

This organization's membership was chosen as a respondent group because SND is the premiere professional organization for publication and web designers. Its members represent designers at all sizes of media outlets from all parts of the country.

A pretest of the survey was conducted in October 1996 at the SND annual conference in Indianapolis. Based on 11 responses to the pretest, the instrument was revised and the mail survey conducted during the summer of 1997. A cover letter explaining the survey was written by the director of the SND Educational Foundation and a stamped, self-addressed envelope accompanied each questionnaire. Directions on the survey instructed non-designers to pass the survey on to a designer and encouraged photocopying of the survey for other designers to complete.

To operationalize the dependent variable – creativity – this study used an instrument from psychology called "Something About Myself." SAM is one of two tests that make up the Khatena-Torrance Creative Perception Inventory designed to identify creatively gifted adolescents and adults (Khatena, 1970). It is an objectively scored, forced-choice self-report based on the idea that creativity is reflected in the personal characteristics of the individual, the thinking strategies he or she employs, and his or her creative productions. It assumes that those who have personality traits identified with creative individuals have the potential for making creative contributions. Two important criteria in the selection of this instrument were its appropriateness for use with adults (most creativity tests are designed for children) and its ability to be used as a mail questionnaire (it did not need to be timed or

supervised). Studies show that the use of biographical instruments such as this are a reasonable means of identifying creative talent (Callahan, 1991).

SAM has been tested against other creativity measures for validity and reliability, with a correlation of reliability for adults that is significant at the $p < .01$ level. Test-retest reliability coefficients were also significant at the $p < .01$ level (Khatena, 1970).

The validity of the SAM test was significant at the $p < .05$ level when correlated with some tests of personality and creativity, and significant at the $p < .01$ level when correlated with others (Rockenstein, 1992; Callahan, 1991; Khatena, 1970). A factor analysis of the items accounted for 53 percent of the total variance (Bledsoe & Khatena, 1973). It is widely acknowledged that creativity tests are generally of less than ideal validity. In light of the complexity of the subject and the variation in definitions of creativity, a given test can be considered highly valid or not at all valid (Callahan, 1991). While the validity correlation of SAM is weaker than its measure of reliability, it is still considered a useful tool for identifying creative personalities. The SAM test was designed as a screening device for identifying creative people and is described as having "application in adult personnel selection where a productive creative person is sought, particularly if creative ability in the arts is a criterion" (Rockenstein, 1992, 343). This describes rather well the goals of the current study.

In addition to the 49-question SAM test as a measure of the dependent variable, independent variables relevant to the working conditions of newspaper, magazine, and web designers were chosen based on variables shown to be predictive in similar studies and on the researchers' knowledge of the field.

For this study, personality characteristics were measured primarily by the psychological instrument designed to identify highly creative designers and those with lower levels of creative ability. In addition, questions on personality characteristics covered intrinsic motivation, ideas others may consider "crazy," and daydreaming.

Background and training variables in our study were operationalized with questions about the level of education and type of training designers received, how long respondents had been designers, number of awards won and seminars attended.

The management variables considered in this study include supervisor's openness to new ideas and designs; management's encouragement of risk-taking and creativity; how rigidly bound to rules and procedures the organization was; how free designers felt about talking to managers; and morale. Feedback was considered as engaging in formal or informal brainstorming; holding critique sessions; and working with other creative people.

The physical environment variables looked at four items: general office mood on five-point semantic differential scales; a view from a window; music playing; and amount and kinds of decorations on desk and walls.

Our constraints variables measured workload; adequateness of choice of photographs and illustrations; for publication designers: limits on jumps and jump length, and required number of elements per page; for web designers: formatting templates vs. creating new pages, and monitor/browser limitations. These were combined into one measure we called "resources."

To avoid a response set, the direction of some questions was reversed so that a response on the low end of the scale was indicative of a higher scale score. These items were subsequently recoded. In addition, there were questions on demographics and several open-ended questions designed to elicit in-depth information. Where necessary, data were dummy coded to interval level. Multiple regression analysis was used to determine which of these independent variables had the most predictive influence on creativity in designers.

Because data for this exploratory study were not drawn from a probability sample we cannot estimate the variability of our sample statistics. Thus, although the conventional tests of statistical significance have been computed and are reported along with the findings, readers should interpret these with caution. However, in the absence of a body of

research in this field, it is hoped this inquiry will stimulate further study into journalists' creativity.

RESULTS

Of the 1,660 surveys mailed, 408 surveys were returned for a response rate of 25 percent. The response rate included 364 newspaper and magazine designers, and 44 web designers. There was an overlap of 28 designers who designed for both web sites and publications. Of the surveys returned, 382 were used to determine the results. Some were eliminated because the respondents indicated they did not actually design pages, or because they skipped too many of the creativity test questions to make valid comparisons.

The creativity scores of the 382 SND members were averaged and compared with the creativity scores of the normative population compiled by the creators of the test (respondent mean = .75, s.d. = 5.45; normative population mean = .57, s.d. = 7.55, $p < .10$). The SND designers showed approximately 31 percent higher creativity levels than the normative population.

We statistically controlled for the usual demographics of age and sex, and also for the size of the news organization (circulation size for newspapers and magazines, average number of weekly hits for web sites) since we hypothesized that larger organizations would have more resources and personnel to commit to the product. Our goal was to remove any effects this might contribute in order to measure the true effects of the other variables on creativity. Since this study is exploratory in nature, we set our significance level at $p < .10$.

In a stepwise regression analysis, controlling for the effects of age, sex, and size of publication/web site, four variables emerged as the best predictors of designers' creativity. (Table 1 reports the results of a stepwise regression model predicting creativity. Table 2 reports the zero correlates of the measures with creativity for the sample.) No

multicollinearity was detected as evidenced by the fact that no two variance proportions of .5 or greater were in a single row.

Overall, the full model is highly significant at $p < .0001$ and accounts for 11 percent of the variance. While this may seem low, by the standards of creativity research it is quite good. Most of the variance is hypothesized to be accounted for by personality characteristics shown to be highly significant in the literature such as tolerance of ambiguity, self-esteem, flexibility of attitude, preference for the complex, and divergent thinking skills. These characteristics were measured in the psychological creativity test to determine respondents' creativity levels for this research rather than tested as independent variables. Factor analysis of the test items bears this out by accounting for 53 percent of the total variance (Bledsoe & Khatena, 1973). Also, the qualities that make a person creative are numerous and elusive, and their interactions quite complex (Sternberg & Lubart, 1991; Csikszentmihalyi, 1988). Thus, it is perhaps understandable that the percentages of variance accounted for by this regression model are quantitatively small but certainly of no small importance qualitatively.

The personality characteristic of having ideas others might consider "crazy" and frequently daydreaming was the best predictor of creativity in designers' ($B = 1.025$, $p < .0001$), explaining 8 percent of the unique variance. For every one unit increase in having crazy ideas and daydreaming, there was an increase of 1.025 units in creativity. Among the other significant predictors, another personality characteristic, intrinsic motivation, added 1 percent to the explained variance ($B = .639$, $p < .05$). For each unit increase in intrinsic motivation, there was an increase of .639 units in creativity. Resources entered the equation next with a marginally significant relationship ($B = .761$, $p < .10$), followed by the amount of decorations on the walls ($B = .295$, $p < .10$). All variables had positive coefficients.

DISCUSSION

The results showing the importance of personality characteristics such as frequent daydreaming, coming up with ideas others might consider "crazy," and intrinsic motivation are not unexpected given their significance in repeated studies of creative personalities. While not surprising to most creativity scholars, these findings would probably surprise designers who believe their work process is unique.

These innate personality characteristics – the most significant predictors of creativity – can only be influenced indirectly by managers who encourage designers to express this side of their personalities. Successful managers know that what looks like employees wasting time by staring out windows or at posters on walls could actually be the incubation of original and creative solutions to design problems. Thus, managers who avoid punishing or discouraging this behavior, either overtly or subtly, tend to work better with creative employees. Likewise, apparently crazy ideas are encouraged rather than ridiculed. As long as all involved realize that these ideas need to be refined into workable design solutions, the freedom to put forth wild ideas can motivate designers to do better, more creative things that still meet the standards of good visual communication. Once provided this kind of atmosphere, designers who wish to enhance their own creative potential should strive to overcome any reservations about daydreaming or putting forth their wildest ideas.

The personality characteristic of intrinsic motivation is actually not as difficult for managers and designers to manipulate as it may seem. Hennessey and Amabile define intrinsic motivation as "the interest, enjoyment, satisfaction, and challenge of the work itself" rather than motivation as the result of external pressures (1988, 11). Thus it seems that motivation can only come from within. However, love of one's work is not enough (Wallace, 1985). Research has shown that, while a person's motivation orientation plays a major role in creative performance, it is the social environment that determines this motivational orientation. Motivation is influenced by a "delicate balance (of) . . . attention,

praise, and support from friends, supervisors, editors, or colleagues" combined with a "certain protective distance from the opinions of these very same people" (Hennessey & Amabile, 1988, 12). Thus, managers can actually increase an employee's intrinsic motivation with praise and support, while protecting him or her from criticism. The same researchers also point out that "an environment conducive to creative production is not easily established, and once achieved, it must be constantly reshaped and controlled." Indeed, creative individuals and those they work for can construct an environment that offers the greatest opportunity to nourish the qualities necessary for intrinsic motivation and, thus, creativity.

Previous research has demonstrated the undermining effects on intrinsic motivation of variables such as monetary payment and other rewards, surveillance, deadlines, expected evaluation, and the perception of a task as the means to an end (See Hennessey & Amabile, 1988, for a complete review).

Much research has been devoted to identifying variables that influence intrinsic motivation. Amabile and colleagues have taken that research a step further by connecting those variables to creativity through intrinsic motivation. Their research has shown that variables that influence motivation also influence creativity indirectly. One such variable is represented by our measure called "resources." This variable was made up from questions regarding deadlines (having enough time for designs), workload (number of pages designed), and restricted choice (enough photographs and illustrations, story jump restrictions, monitor/browser limitations). Investigations that examine the role of choice on creativity have found that it is easier to be creative when presented with a choice of materials with which to create (Hennessey & Amabile, 1988). Subjects in experiments on the role of choice showed reduced intrinsic motivation as well as reduced creativity when given no choice in the materials they used for a task. Choice has also been shown to interact with reward, which has been repeatedly shown to have a highly significant negative influence on intrinsic motivation.

The variable concerning office decorations is also easy to manipulate. Designers who scored highest on this creativity test were more likely to fill their walls with photos, calendars, posters, awards, and examples of their own and others' best works for inspiration. Research that has shown that people can be taught to scan the environment for cues that will inspire creative ideas provides even more reason for managers to let employees go wild and even paint the office green and purple if they want. It is curious that the other physical environment variables, such as music playing and a view from a window were not significant. Even though two-thirds (67 percent) of the designers responding had windows, a view was apparently not a factor. Open-ended questions from the survey explained this apparent contradiction to previous research. Editorial designers responding to this survey typically had small spaces in open newsrooms, not cubicles or separate offices, so their orientation to this variable is much different.

We expected the management style measures would show more influence than this study revealed. The literature repeatedly shows the significance of things we considered, including management's openness to new ideas and encouragement of risk-taking, an atmosphere where individuals are unafraid of the consequences of mistakes, an organization not rigidly bound to rules and procedures, and morale. That this variable was significant in research into other types of organizations proves partly correct the claim that designers are not like other creative individuals. In fact, it seems that editorial designers may be more resilient than other creative types; management can be either open and supportive, or rigid and restrictive without affecting their employees' creativity levels. Open-ended answers to the survey suggested these creative people were evaluated in a variety of ways: negatively critiqued ("endless revision and bureaucratic blather, verbal tongue lashing"), positively critiqued ("talk to management and one of us makes a change," "work together to a better solution") or not critiqued at all.

Another explanation may lie in semantics. Part of our management measure included feedback; perhaps the term was ambiguously interpreted by some respondents.

The concept is a complicated one and experiments on feedback yield different results when manipulations are slight. For instance, identical feedback can be perceived differently by people with different motivations. In one study (Boggiano and Barrett; 1984), children who were already intrinsically motivated responded to both positive and negative feedback with increased motivation; the negative feedback was apparently viewed as a challenge. But children who were not already intrinsically motivated responded negatively to both praise and criticism. Hennessey and Amiable (1988) outline research that demonstrates that the characteristics of the recipient have a great deal to do with how feedback is perceived. The researchers suggest an additional line of inquiry for creativity research – that of an individual's perceptions of the external variables that influence creativity.

In addition to internal characteristics influencing how feedback is perceived, ways feedback is structured and communicated can vary widely. For example, feedback can contain constructive comments and show a depth of thought, or it can be shallow. While most studies link evaluation with decreased creativity (See Hennessey & Amabile, 1988, for a discussion), other studies show that evaluation that contains specific information about competence has been consistently shown not to undermine intrinsic motivation. In order to understand the complex subjects of feedback and management styles, which can vary widely, studies exclusively on these subjects and their many nuances are in order.

It was not expected that the other variables would be influential, and in fact they were not. Our measure of awards as an influence on creativity was not significant, which speaks to the theory that external rewards decrease motivation and creative performance. However, our results did not conform to reward theory showing that rewards act as a negative influence. A more in-depth examination of the many varieties of rewards is necessary before conclusions can be drawn.

Results showing educational background, number of years of education, and attendance at design seminars as having no significant influence on creativity reinforce others' findings that IQ over 120 or special expertise in an area does not increase creativity.

Publication size was not found in the literature in connection with creativity, but was included here in the spirit of the exploratory nature of this study and in the interest of completeness. It did not influence creativity, nor was it expected to.

CONCLUSIONS

Designers and how they operate is a much understudied subject in mass communication. Creativity, though much studied in other fields, has not been studied specifically in newspaper, magazine, and web page designers. Since we cannot be assured that this population was sufficiently similar to others that have been studied, this exploratory study was undertaken to extend this important work to visual communicators. The research question seeks to answer what influences the creative abilities of newspaper, magazine and web designers? Answers to this question will contribute to both theory and practice.

A survey of 382 members of the Society of News Design operationalized creativity with an instrument from psychology that is based on the idea that creativity is reflected in the personality characteristics, thinking strategies, and creative productions of an individual. In addition, independent variables relevant to the working conditions of news designers were measured in the categories of personality; background and training; management style; physical environment; and constraints. Demographics of age and sex were controlled for, as was the size of the news organizations.

In stepwise multiple regression analysis four variables emerged as the best predictors of designers' creativity. The personality trait of daydreaming frequently and having ideas others might consider crazy emerged as the most significant predictor. The next most significant variable was intrinsic motivation. Resources entered the equation with

marginal significance followed by amount of wall decorations. The model was highly significant at $p < .0001$.

The most significant variables were all personality characteristics (daydreaming, having crazy ideas, and intrinsic motivation), which is not surprising considering their consistently significant contribution in numerous studies of creativity. Research has also demonstrated ways to enhance these innate personality characteristics. Designers can nurture their own creativity by understanding the factors that influence innovation and practicing them until they become comfortable. For example, expressing their wild ideas rather than suppressing them. Managers can also provide an environment conducive to creativity by not interfering or criticizing, rewarding creativity the right way, and encouraging risk-taking.

Managers have much more control over the resources and decor variables by providing designers with a choice of photographs, illustrations, and printed space; allowing and even encouraging them to decorate their walls with photos, posters, and other designs for inspiration.

Other non-significant variables in this study have been shown to influence creativity in other research. Thus, it appears that editorial designers may be partially accurate when they argue that they are different from other creative people because of their mission. However, such conclusions are tentative due to the nature of this exploratory study. However, in the absence of a body of research in this field, these results should help deepen our understanding of the design process and designers, and stimulate further study into journalists' creativity.

Further research is needed. A start would be to replicate this research with a random sample. Future studies could concentrate on the areas revealed as most significant. Additional lines of inquiry might include the areas that were not significant for news designers but that are significant in other populations to determine the differences.

In general, much of the literature on creativity is the result of studies with children; thus, we are forced to extrapolate from children to the adult population. Some studies with adults yield close replication of results obtained with children (Hennessey & Amabile, 1988; Amabile, Hennessey & Grossman, 1986, Study 2), however, more research on creativity needs to be done on adults, especially when considering that creativity is a life-long process and major creative contributions peak in the 30- to 40-year range (Sternberg & Lubart, 1991)

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TABLE 1
Regression Analyses of Predictors of Creativity

	Beta	SE β	Total R-Sq.	t
Crazy Ideas/Daydreams	.276423	.192962	.08	5.31****
Intrinsic Motivation	.115395	.287491	.09	2.23**
Resources	.095503	.411499	.10	12.4*
Office decorations	.089650	.170578	.11	1.72*

TABLE 2
Zero-Order Correlates of Creativity

Variables	Creativity
Personality Measures	
Crazy Ideas/Daydreaming (n =)	.275**** 381
Intrinsic Motivation (n =)	.131*** 381
Physical Environment Measure	
Wall decorations (n =)	.131*** 382
Constraint Variables	
Resources (n =)	.101** 380
Workload (n =)	.070* 375
Choice of photographs (n =)	-.003 372
Choice of illustrations (n =)	.008 369

**** p < .001 *** p < .01 ** p < .05 * p < .10

**ERRORS AND INACCURACIES IN IOWA'S
LOCAL NEWSPAPER INFORMATION GRAPHICS**

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ERRORS AND INACCURACIES IN IOWA'S LOCAL NEWSPAPER
INFORMATION GRAPHICS

Abstract

This content analysis explores the accuracy with which data are presented in charts in a select sample of community newspapers in Iowa. It examined 187 information graphics contained in 268 issues of 28 community newspapers.

Results indicate the dearth of charts in many newspapers. Majority of the charts depicted international, local business and infrastructure development topics. Locator maps were the most predominantly used, followed by line graphs and bar graphs. Violations of chart making conventions, misrepresentation of data using percentages, non-comparability of data, inappropriateness of chart, overdressed graphs, and the absence of text-graphic correspondence were the most common mistakes observed.

Majority of the charts examined were created or produced in-house; the 61 error incidences noted split almost evenly between staff-produced and externally created charts.

ERRORS AND INACCURACIES IN IOWA'S LOCAL NEWSPAPER INFORMATION GRAPHICS

With the advent of graphics-oriented newspapers, the display of quantitative information has undergone a revolution. Simple pie charts and bar graphs have turned into colorful carriers of data, and the pictorial display of quantitative information has become a separate genre of communication within the overall framework of information graphics. These quantitative graphics have mass appeal because they make use of one of the most powerful, yet elementary, human faculties: the ability to group elements and recognize patterns. An efficient alternative to text, infographics hold great potential in conveying social, political, and economic trends to the public.

Researchers have generally documented the rising use of charts in newspapers (e.g., Cvengros, 1988; Hilliard, 1989). Besides descriptive studies, the field has spawned dozens of quantitative studies in psychology, education, and communication (summarized in Kosslyn, 1989; Macdonald-Ross, 1977; David, 1992). Charts are also the subject of theories developed in cognitive psychology (Cleveland, 1985) and semiotics (Bertin, 1983). Some have also evaluated the ability of readers to use and understand them (e.g., Pasternack and Utt, 1990).

The functional utility of charts is central to all the experimental research surrounding their use. The studies are of two varieties. One strain seeks to clarify how charts work in the context of words on the page. These experiments often compared reading text alone with viewing a combination of chart and text. Most authors believe charts are more efficient than text, especially for presenting large quantities of information. So far, experiments using paper-and-pencil tests to measure recall have produced mixed results.

The other strain compares the relative efficiency of various charts (e.g., Murgio, 1969; DeJarnette, 1994). Readers encountering the same information in a table and a graph, for instance, are tested for rapid and correct response. Once again, the results are

mixed. The studies do not consistently show one graphic form to be a faster or more accurately recalled mode of display than another.

Studies of how readers use and understand charts warn fairly consistently that charts present difficulties to all but the most sophisticated reader (e.g., Culbertson and Powers, 1959; Peel, 1978; Roller, 1980). Broad-based tests of literacy suggest that only a minority of the US population can successfully interpret charts (e.g., Egan, 1991; National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1973). One extensive study of a specific chart, the "food pyramid" developed for the US Department of Agriculture, found that the difficulty extends even to well-educated readers (Barnhurst, 1994). By these measures, charts in newspapers may not have much functional utility for many readers.

The view of cognitive and semiotic theorists that the test of a chart is in the function it performs leads most researchers to ignore other roles charts play in culture (Barnhurst, 1994). Indeed, what charts really embody, other than quantitative data the accuracy and presentation of which are so often analyzed in popular articles and descriptive surveys, has never been investigated. Like a language, charts are mere metaphors. They seem concrete because of the doctrine of graphic correspondence. They propose to represent the world first by measuring it and then by displaying those measurements in ink and space on paper. It has never been clear whether they do carry a subtle social agenda.

Examining the data and design of infographics in depth is important because decisions that lead to publishing a chart have an impact on individuals and social groups. Statisticians caution that the regularity charts show for large aggregates will not accurately reflect personal experience. Nevertheless, the statistics in charts get applied to individuals in daily practice. Cultures use charts to create the symbolic environment in which people live. They assign individuals to social classes and categories with a common set of self-fulfilling expectations.

This study explores the accuracy with which data are presented in charts in a select sample of community newspapers in Iowa. In order to do so, however, it is pertinent to ask the following: (1) What current issues are played up in infographics? In other words, what sorts of problems do charts define? (2) What types of infographics are commonly used to depict these topics? (3) What are the errors visual communicators often make in the conceptualization and presentation of graphical data? It is also germane to know (4) who created the charts. This study looks at the agents of design in an effort to determine whether a national or local perspective makes a difference in the way statistics are communicated.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The internal organization, and consequently the resources, of the media is an important aspect political economists and communication experts consider regarding the formulation of national and local agenda and how the day's important issues are framed. Tuchman, in fact, considers news as "a constructed reality in which journalists define and redefine social meanings as part of their every day working routine" (Tuchman as quoted by Hannigan, 1995:59).

One approach to this organizational explanation is endorsed by McManus (1990) who considers the size of the media organization as an important factor in the construction of messages. As most media are driven by economic forces for their subsistence, according to him, they gravitate toward techniques that maximize profits. Thus, media organizations with scarce resources, such as community newspapers, will tend to promote minimally active discovery among their reporters. This reporting can be achieved without even leaving the newsroom, just by monitoring press releases, newspapers, radio and television competitors, wire services, video as well as scanning police and fire emergency radio channels.

On the other hand, media groups that have access to a greater amount of resources will be able to afford more active discovery. This means reporters will have the ability to contact sources outside the newsroom, as the policy of the medium becomes closely related to the public service model. The implications of these differences in economic resources of media groups affect their potential role as "watchdogs." Those that operate on a minimally active discovery mode abandon this function entirely in favor of keeping their costs low, while those that engage in highly active discovery are able to hew closer to the model of the press as the fourth estate. As McManus (1990:683) succinctly states, "while passive discovery has civic costs, active discovery may have corporate costs."

By extension then, it can be hypothesized that community newspapers with limited resources such as those studied here are not likely to have the wherewithal to hire visual communicators whose main responsibility is the design and presentation of charts. Furthermore, what little infographics they can produce can be expected to be low in technical quality and content. Chances are that these small-town newspapers will rely exclusively on national and international story feeds and their accompanying charts in the absence of people able to address local issues and gather data to better define these issues.

Common Sources of Error

The lack of resources seem to figure prominently in explanations of why errors occur in graphics although a broad view of the field reveals a wide range of reasons why inaccurate information is presented and why information that is presented cannot be interpreted correctly. These reasons are often related to one another.

Inaccurate information. Just as journalists who work with the written word include inaccurate information in their articles, graphic journalists may also include information that is not correct.

One of the chief reasons why information is not accurate is that the sources of that information are not the best. Some sources are notoriously uninformed about the information they present. Records kept by local governments, for instance, are simply inaccurate not because of malfeasance or sloppiness, but because institutional barriers prevent the keeping of accurate records or the impossibility of gathering some information.¹

Another reason for inaccurate information is that it is out of date. For example, many census figures begin to lose their value after one or two years. This is particularly true of population figures that are reported every decade. To say in 1996 that a city has a population of a certain number of citizens based on the 1990 census is not accurate.

Journalist error. Many errors that occur in graphics can be laid solely at the feet of the journalist. Certainly, many of the technical errors that appear are caused by journalists who simply got it wrong. Sometimes this kind of error is due to the laziness or sloppiness of the journalist and his or her work habits. Other errors occur because of the lack of time necessary to produce an accurate graphic. Editors often do not understand how much time it takes to create a graphic. They believe that a graphic journalist can make a good graphic instantly with the right computer.

Lack of understanding of the information. Far too often, graphic journalists simply do not understand the information they are dealing with. When that happens, they are likely to present the information inaccurately or put the information in the wrong context. Not understanding how survey data are produced often result from these inadequacies.

¹ Voter registration lists are one such example of inaccurate records. In most places, voter registration lists are not purged regularly. People move out of an area constantly, but they rarely inform the voting registrar when they do so. Consequently, it is impossible to calculate with much precision the percentage of voters who vote in any election. The information on voter registration lists is simply not accurate enough to do that.

Lack of understanding of charts. Unfortunately, there is still some evidence that those who work with charts and graphs do not understand the conventions and techniques of chart making. Charts are seen by many publications as decorative, rather than information-carrying devices.

Inadequate context for information. All journalists have a constant struggle with the "context problem." The problem is not that sources often claim they were "quoted out of context." The problem, is what do we keep in a story and what do we keep out? A journalist does not tell everything that he or she knows; he or she must be selective in presenting information. The problem comes in deciding what information the readers need to adequately understand and properly interpret an article or event.

The graphic journalist struggles with the same problems. How much information is enough? How much is too much? What information is necessary for an adequate understanding of the information in the graphic? The contention that there is so much error in graphics journalism prompts an unblinking look at this aspect of the work.

METHOD

This study is a content analysis of the information graphics contained in 28 Iowa community newspapers belonging to the Iowa Newspaper Association (INA). INA is owned and controlled exclusively by its 340 daily and weekly newspaper members (as of 1997) with a total circulation exceeding 1.4 million households. Of the 340 newspapers in the INA directory, 28 (8%) were randomly selected to form the sample for this study.

The analysis covered a four-month period, from September to December, 1997. A great majority of the newspapers (23) are weeklies. From this pool, two issues of the paper were chosen per month. Two publications come out daily; from these, six issues per month were randomly selected. From the three titles released semi-weekly, three issues were examined per month. This proportional-to-size sampling technique yielded a

total of 264 issues from which the charts examined here were culled out. Random sampling without replacement was done by picking dates from three separate sacks (by frequency of release).

An information graphic is defined here as any visual representation of data. It is said that one of its strengths is that it can stand alone, but it is often presented as a supplement to a story or editorial copy. The information graphics examined here include tables, bar graphs, pie charts, line graphs, maps and diagrams. Excluded from the analysis were weather maps, schedules of sports games and stock market indices where these are regular parts of a specific column or newspaper section. They were counted into the sample, however, when they formed part of a breaking story or a full-blown feature.

The unit of analysis is any story with an accompanying information graphic, and free-standing charts (with no accompanying articles). When a story shows more than one information graphic, the additional graphics were considered separate units although they refer to the same editorial material.

The topics which were the subjects of graphical display were collapsed to form a categorical variable. So were the types of errors encountered often.

The creators or producers of the chart thought about the data and constructed the charts. They were either employees or staff of the newspaper or chain that owns it (internal), or a news agency or any other organization outside of the publication (external). Examples of external chart makers are the Associated Press, the INA, and the National Education Administration. These chart makers should not be confused with the sources of data or those who supplied the statistics.

Four research questions were asked: (1) What were the topics commonly tackled by the charts? 2) What types of infographics were commonly used to depict these topics? (3) What were the most common types of errors that occurred? and (4) Who created the charts?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Published in 26 out of Iowa's 99 counties, the 28 newspapers examined in this study had a combined circulation of a little less than 294,000, servicing primarily rural communities (Table 1). The 268 issues that formed the sampling frame produced a total of 187 graphics (Table 2), but perhaps the most telling fact from Table 1 is the total absence of charts in six of these newspapers, and the very scant number that can be found in majority of them. This shows that in general, chart making is yet to pervade the way community newspapers practice journalism.

Commonly Depicted Topics

Table 2 indicates that the need to show the location of international incidents preoccupy Iowa newspaper charts (21.4%). Many of these, however, go in tandem with news releases from wire agencies and were therefore produced by external sources. A majority of them, too, were passive locator maps that lack depth. The international category clearly overshadows local business, money and finance (13.4%) and infrastructure development (13.9%), two topics that constitute a substantial portion of the newspapers' agenda. On cursory analysis these topics generally require graphic devices to heighten audience comprehension of the issue covered.

Table 1. Iowa newspapers examined and their individual contribution to the sample.

	Newspaper	Freq- uency*	Place of publication (Town/ COUNTY)*	Circul- ation*	Number of issues examined	Number of info- graphics examined	Percent of total
1.	Adair County Free Press	Weekly	Greenfield ADAIR	3,000	8	4	2.14
2.	Adams County Free Press	Weekly	Corning ADAMS	2,711	8	0	0
3.	Belmond Independent	Weekly	Belmond	2,400	8	2	1.07
4.	Ida County Courier-Reminder	Weekly	Ida Grove IDA	3,302	8	3	1.60
5.	Dayton Review	Weekly	Dayton WEBSTER	875	8	0	0
6.	Decorah Journal	Weekly	Decorah WINNESHIEK	6,400	8	0	0
7.	Decorah Public Opinion	Weekly	Decorah WINNESHIEK	6,330	8	4	2.14
8.	Denison Bulletin	Weekly	Denison CRAWFORD	8,735	8	3	1.60
9.	Denison Review	Weekly	Denison CRAWFORD	9,547	8	6	3.21
10.	Eagle Grove Eagle	Weekly	Eagle Grove WRIGHT	2,700	8	8	4.28
11.	Enterprise-Record	Weekly	State Center MARSHALL	1,200	8	0	0
12.	The Gazette	Daily	Cedar Rapids LINN	Morn: 68,562 Sun: 84,342	24	98	52.41
13.	The Grinnell Herald Register	Semi-weekly	Grinnell POWERSHIEK	4,048	12	9	4.81
14.	The Greene Recorder	Weekly	Greene BUTLER	1,300	8	0	0
15.	The Grundy Register	Weekly	Grundy Center GRUNDY	3,200	8	2	1.07

Table 1. continued

	Newspaper	Freq- uency*	Place of publication*	Circul- ation*	Number of issues examined	Number of info- graphics examined	Percent of total
16.	Hampton Chronicle and Times	Semi- weekly	Hampton FRANKLIN	7,020	12	7	3.74
17.	Harlan News- Advertiser	Weekly	Harlan SHELBY	5,250	8	2	1.07
18.	Harlan Tribune	Weekly	Shelby HARLAN	5,250	8	4	2.14
19.	Humbolt Independent	Weekly	Humbolt HUMBOLT	5,000	8	2	1.07
20.	Lake Mills Graphic	Weekly	Lake Mills WINNEBAGO	2,990	8	2	1.07
21.	The Laurens Sun	Weekly	Laurens POCA- HONTAS	1,450	8	2	1.07
22.	The News-Gazette	Weekly	Bayard GUTHRIE	2,600	8	7	3.74
23.	The North Scott Press	Weekly	Eldridge SCOTT	7,600	8	7	3.74
24.	The Pilot-Tribune	Daily (except Mon. & Sunday)	Storm Lake BUENA VISTA	24,366	24	5	2.67
25.	The Rock Valley Bee	Weekly	Rock Valley SIOUX	6,350	8	3	1.60
26.	The Seymour Herald	Weekly	Seymour WAYNE	1,600	8	0	0
27.	Sumner Gazette	Weekly	Sumner BREMER	1,873	8	1	0.53
28.	Times-Citizen	Semi- weekly	Iowa Falls HARDIN	13,200	12	6	3.21
Total					268	187	100

*Source: The SRDS Newspaper Advertising Source, November 1997.

Table 2. Topics covered by general categories

Topic category	Frequency	Percent occurrence
International incident	40	21.39
Business, money and finance	25	13.37
Infrastructure development	26	13.90
Economy, national and local	24	12.83
Crime and accident location	17	9.10
Town, county location and site of local events	13	6.95
Parks, wildlife reserve, museum location	5	2.67
Education	5	2.67
Sports	4	2.14
Population trends	3	1.60
Other local and state	15	8.02
Other national	10	5.34
Total	187	100

Types of Infographics Commonly Used

Table 3 lists the frequencies with which individual chart types were used to address the above issues. True to function and because of the nature of the stories or data they are supposed to serve, locator maps were the most predominantly used (44.4%), followed by line graphs (14.4%) and bar graphs (11.8%), in that order. One would suspect that because they are relatively more difficult to do, there will be less explanatory (2.7%) and data maps (5.9%) as well as diagrams (7.5%). But the very minimal use of pie charts (4.3%) in the face of very economically- and finance-oriented stories in all newspapers (Table 2) is counterintuitive.

Table 3. Type of information graphics produced

Chart type	Frequency	Percent occurrence
Table	17	9.10
Map		
Locator	83	44.38
Data	11	5.88
Explanatory	5	2.67
Line graph	27	14.44
Diagram	14	7.49
Bar graph	22	11.76
Pie chart	8	4.28
Total	187	100

The Most Common Types of Errors

Some types of graphic errors occurred more often than others in this sample of Iowa newspapers (Table 4). Their recurrence indicates that there are some common misunderstandings among those who produce these graphics. The following errors were most often spotted:

Violations of conventions (29.5%). With spreadsheet programs and other softwares currently available, the conventions of chart use are relatively simple to understand and adhere to. Still, there are a number of violations that can easily be detected and could have been easily avoided. Among them are missing headlines, attributions, labels, axes and legends; indistinguishable shadings and patterns; maps not showing true North; lack of explanatory blurbs or "chatters" especially among free standing graphics (Figure 1) and missing callouts or factoids (Figure 2).

Table 4. Common errors and inaccuracies

Errors and inaccuracies	Frequency	Percent occurrence
Violations of conventions	18	29.51
Percentages without a base	13	21.31
Comparing the non-comparable	10	16.39
Inappropriate chart	9	14.75
Overdressed graphs	7	11.47
No text-graph correspondence	4	6.56
Total	61	100

The tyranny of percentages (21.3%). It is the responsibility of a journalist to know and report on what basis a percentage has been calculated. This information is sadly lacking in many of the bar charts examined to the point that they inadvertently obscure data. Readers tend to tease out this information from the accompanying story, but sometimes, in reporting survey research results, pollsters tend to "recode" data. For instance, many discard the responses from those who did not answer a question and figure a percentage based only on those who did. The story seldom explains this calculation method. There is nothing wrong with this practice as long as those who look at the data -- journalists and general readers alike -- know that this is what has happened. Such results are sometimes reported with a "missing data deleted" note on them.

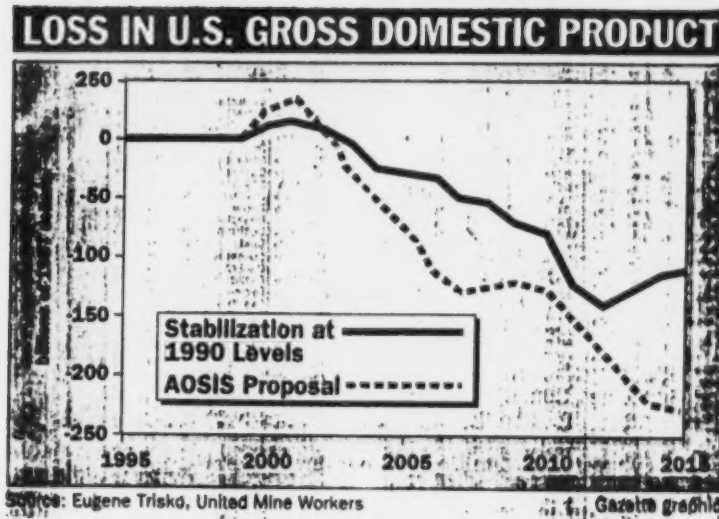


Figure 1. Readers must be wondering what this free-standing line graph is explaining without so much as a brief description after the chart headline.

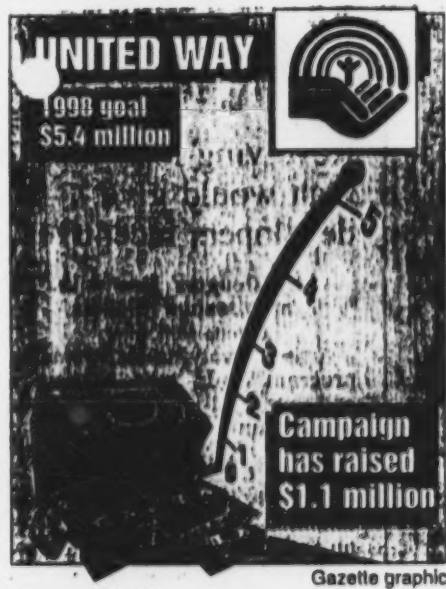


Figure 2. This diagram fails to communicate because of a missing callout that should point to the status of the United Way fund drive relative to the 1998 goal.

Figure 3 shows how omitting the percentage base patently distorts data. While a University of Iowa study found a large discrepancy in child seatbelt use between urban and rural areas, the bar chart belittles the problem by not indicating that Iowa, after all, is a predominantly rural state. Seatbelt use is clearly lower in rural areas as this graphic shows, but considering the absolute number of rural residents compared to those in the cities, the problem may be even worse.

Comparing the non-comparable (16.4%). Graphic journalists often unwittingly believe that they have data or information they can put into a graph or chart that can be compared and that the comparison will be meaningful. This isn't always so. This type of error has many manifestations.

One of the most common manifestations is the comparison of dollar figures over a period of time without any adjustment -- or without even noting -- that inflation has rendered the figures non-comparable. For example, the bar graph in Figure 4 which compares the average monthly social security benefits of retired workers, retired couples, widowed mothers, and elderly widows or widowers in 1998 and 1997, might totally be a different picture if some constant standards were used.

Inappropriate graphic (14.8%). For most chart designers, the difficulty with charts lie not on how to construct them, but in the information that they are constructed to convey. That information must be accurate, it must be complete, and it must be in the proper context. The chart selected for presenting the information, therefore, must be appropriate for the data. The mistakes that fall under this category (Figure 5, for example) suggest that those charged with the task of producing charts still lack a thorough understanding of the uses and limitations of different graphic forms.

Rural kids at risk

Seat belt use lower than in urban areas

**Gazette staff report
and Gazette wire services**
IOWA CITY — Children in Iowa's rural areas are much less likely than urban youngsters to be properly restrained while riding in motor vehicles, according to a new study by the University of Iowa.

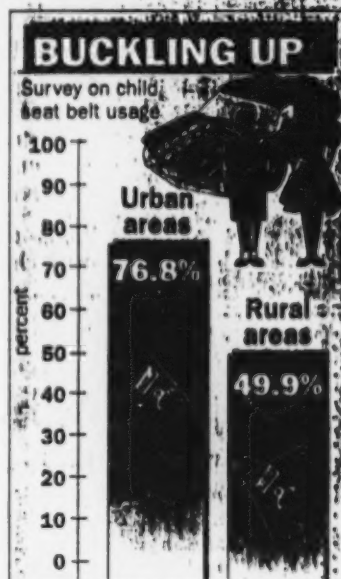
Only 49.9 percent of the children in the four smallest Iowa communities studied in the 1997 Child Passenger Restraint Survey were judged to be properly restrained, while 76.8 percent were judged to be properly restrained in the four largest communities.

"We have no scientific answer" to explain the rural-urban disparity, said John Lundell, coordinator of the U of I Injury Prevention Research Center. The most likely explanation, he said, is that "people feel like they are at more risk of a traffic accident in urban areas."

The large discrepancy between restraint usage in small communities versus urban areas is consistent with other research indicating people are at greater risk of being injured in rural areas, according to Craig Zwerling, associate professor of preventive medicine at the U of I College of Medicine and director of the Injury Prevention Research Center.

"We know that people in rural areas face higher risk of injury from a variety of causes, including automobile crashes, contact with agricultural equipment and fires in the home," Zwerling said.

"The proper use of child restraint devices in automobiles is one way adults can ensure that



Source: U of I Injury Prevention Research Center Gazette chart

rural children at least do not face increased risks while riding in the car."

Overall, the survey estimated 70.3 percent of infants and children younger than age 6 were properly restrained — an increase of 1.2 percent over the 1996 survey.

The survey took place at 37 locations across Iowa this past summer.

The survey also found an increasing number of Iowans — 75 percent — are placing their children in the rear seats of vehicles. That compares with only 52 percent in the rear seat in 1993.

In Iowa, 17 children younger than age 6 were killed in motor vehicle crashes in 1996.

Figure 3. An example of a bar chart that fails to communicate the basis for computing percentages.

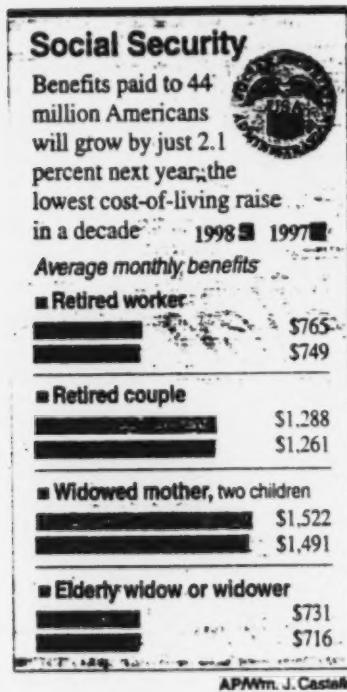


Figure 4. An example of a bar chart that compares the non-comparable by not indicating adjustments to dollar figures.

Swine stock increase in Iowa good sign for industry

By Mariene Lucas

Gazette rural affairs writer

Iowa's swine breeding herd continues to grow, a good sign for the industry that generates \$12 billion in related economic activity for the state.

The government's September hogs and pigs report shows Iowa's breeding stock climbed by 8 percent to 1.35 million compared to last September's total of 1.25 million. Iowa's total hog population was 13.8 million, up 6 percent from a year ago.

"The increase in breeding stock is what we've been concentrating on," said Mike Telford, executive president of the Iowa Pork Producers Association.

"It's critical. Iowa packers

are working at 70 percent capacity. We're glad to see the rebound."

Minnesota's breeding herd grew by 11 percent from 560,000 to 620,000, and Nebraska's breeding herd remained stable at 450,000.

North Carolina, where growth of the pork industry has been phenomenal in the past 5 years, had a 7 percent increase in the breeding herd for total of 1.05 million.

However, the breeding herd in Illinois fell 5 percent to 530,000, and Missouri's breeding herd decreased by 15 percent to 440,000, according to the report.

Nationwide, the breeding herd increased by 3 percent for a total of 6.951 million.

Telford said the increases in the upper Midwest herds show family farmers have decided to compete with large-scale producers.

A pattern had developed in the recent past of small hog producers dropping out of the industry, saying they were unable to compete.

"You can't have these kinds of increases if they haven't determined that they can compete," Telford said.

Iowa's June-August pig crop totaled 4.523 million, up 6 percent from the same quarter last year, according to the report. A total 520,000 sows were farrowed to produce these pigs, an average of 8.7 pigs per litter.

Producers said they intend-

HOGS AND PIGS ON FARMS

as of Sept. 1

STATE	TOTAL HOGS AND PIGS	CHANGE FROM SEPTEMBER 1996
Iowa	13.80	6%
N. Carolina	10.00	8%
Minnesota	5.40	10%
Illinois	4.60	-2%
Nebraska	3.65	-1%
Missouri	3.60	1%
United States	60.25	4%

numbers in millions

Source: Iowa Agricultural Statistics

Gazette ch.

ed to farrow 520,000 sows and gilts during the September-November quarter, up 8 percent from the previous year. Intend-d farrowings for Decem-

ber through February 500,000 sows and gilts are up percent from the same period last year.

Figure 5. Data in this table could have been more vividly compared using a bar chart.

Sometimes, too, changes in data may not be that significant to even warrant a chart. Figure 6 is an example of one that seems to be just an afterthought. The three-dimensional representation which obscures the bars' end points adds to this tale of woe. **Overdressed graphs** (11.5%). Many graphs that appeared in the newspapers were decorated by artwork, and sometimes that artwork is fairly elaborate (Figure 2). While some critics strongly object to this artwork (calling it "chart junk"), others believe that this adds an attention-getting aspect to the chart and makes it more inviting to the reader. The problem comes when that artwork obscures the starting point of the chart, its scale, or something important. Doing any of these things can lessen the chart's value in presenting information to the reader.

Cognitive psychologists say that people's brain cells are "difference detectors." What excites our neurons is not the absolute magnitude of a stimulus but its relative magnitude -- that is, the difference between visual elements is what stands out. Attention is automatically drawn to the parts of the visual display that are different, and the mind reflexively assumes that these most salient aspects of a display have special significance (Kosslyn and Charris, 1993). This principle helps to explain why gaudily decorated graphs are difficult to understand: attention is constantly pulled away from the information towards the content-free parts of the display -- which, ironically, were put there to attract attention in the first place.

Figure 7 compares a simple versus an embellished line graph showing the same data. Future research should illuminate if there is significant difference in these two presentation's impact.

Non-correspondence with text (6.6%). This area represents not so much error as it does lack of thought about the point of a chart. Figure 8 compares two articles using the same chart, and yet the headlines they give the readers about these data are very

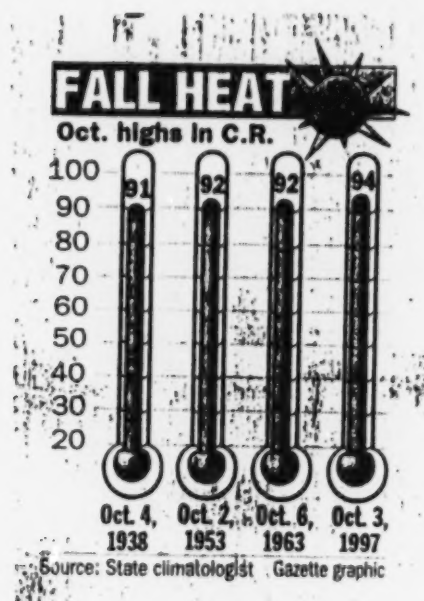


Figure 6. The 3-D presentation in this bar graph further obscures insignificant temperature changes.

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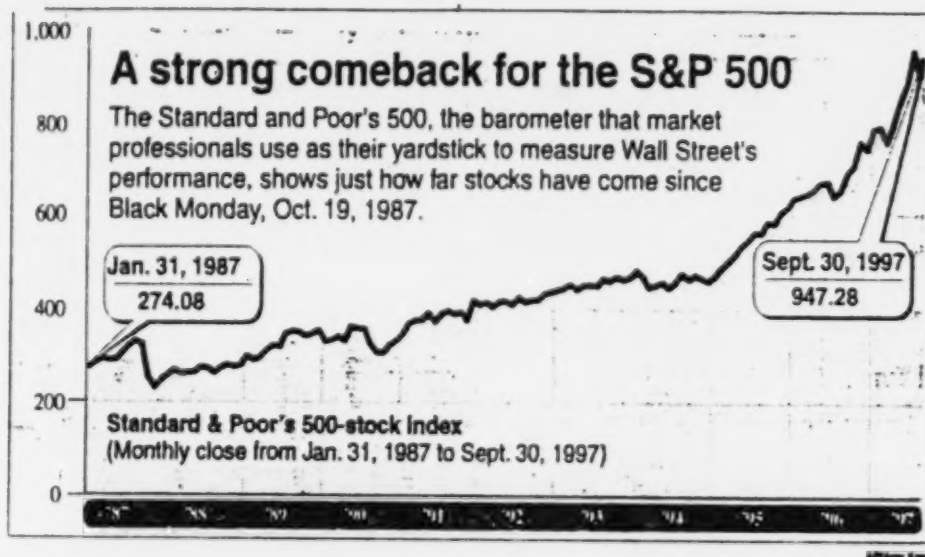


Figure 7. The same data is presented differently below. The impact of dressed up charts versus unadorned ones needs scrutiny.

Record jobless rate

Iowa unemployment hits all-time low in October

By Rod Boshart

Gazette Des Moines Bureau

DES MOINES — Iowa continues to break records for unemployment but economic development leaders said Thursday the state has been able to fend off critical labor shortages thanks to a sizable number of underemployed workers able to move into more-skilled positions.

The state Department of Workforce Development's October report showed joblessness hit an all-time low with a record 41,980 Iowans without work last month. The number of filled workers was 200 under the previous low of 11,700 logged in July, and October's 2.6 percent jobless rate equaled the July record. The state has tracked unemployment figures since 1978.

"While the unemployment rate is very low, what we're seeing is a lot of the activity in the underemployed and in people moving up," said David Lyons, director of the state Department of Economic Development.

"There's a significantly larger percentage that are underemployed and that gives the opportunity for us to continue to grow the work force in skilled employment and in employment more in line with the skills and the talents of people," he said.

Iowa was one of six states with unemployment rates below 3 percent in Sep-

tember and had the fourth-lowest rate in the nation at 2.7 percent, state officials said. Nationally, 6.5 million Americans were unemployed.

Linn County's jobless rate slipped to 1.7 percent in October, compared to 1.9 percent the previous month and 2.4 percent one year ago. Statewide, unemployment ranged from 1.2 percent in Humboldt County to 3.6 percent in Wapello County.

Mark Seckman, vice president of project development for Priority One, the economic arm of the Cedar Rapids Area Chamber of Commerce, said the low unemployment rate has not had an appreciable effect on efforts to draw business projects to the area.

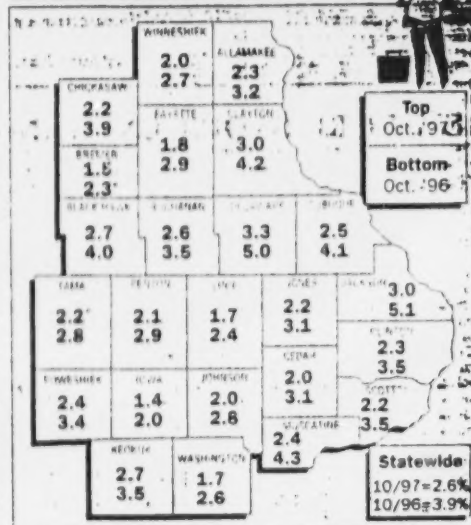
He said it likely is being felt by existing companies seeking to add workers. When good-paying jobs open up in Cedar Rapids, there normally is a good supply of quality applicants who turn out, Seckman said.

"The state of Iowa still has a very good reputation for the quality of its work force," he said. "That's still a driving force that companies look at."

Iowa's job growth in October primarily came in nonfarm areas, such as services, manufacturing, trade and government.

Services posted a gain of 3,500 jobs over September, while manufacturing was up 800 mostly in the nondurable goods sector, trade was up 700 and government grew by 600. Construction, transportation, communications and public utilities also posted employment gains last month.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES



different. Was there a significant change in Iowa's jobless rate from 1996 to 1997, or was there more of the same?

The first five categories of mistakes discussed above might seem innocuous compared to this type of error; the non-correspondence with text is deadly if we consider that some of these graphs actually enjoy more readership and attention than the full-blown stories. These mistakes can be interpreted as patent distortions, especially in this day and age when people think they have already seen everything. Numbers, certainly, are the first to come under intensive scrutiny.

Some editors and reporters continue to think of charts as decorations rather than as vehicles for information. They may request (or demand) a graphic to go along with a story but give little thought to what is in the graphic. The use of charts and graphics in this way wastes valuable publication space and runs the risk of disappointing, confusing or misleading the reader.

In Figure 9, for instance, although the Fortune 500 companies were happy to report that there are more of them these days with female directors, they fail to indicate the absolute number of women now constituting their managerial class. After all, the companies that really value women's talents are the ones naming multiple women to their boards. As the narrative correctly points, "when there's one woman on the board, you can easily lapse into less eagerness for the second or the third."

The Chart Makers

As Table 5 shows, close to 68% of the charts examined were created or produced in-house, by the newspaper's employees and staff themselves. This finding runs contrary to the expectation that limited resources handicap small newspapers in the chart making area. Unable to hire people knowledgeable about information graphics, community newspapers are generally assumed to rely on outside feeds to liven up their pages. While some have clearly not adopted this "revolution" yet (Table 1), that they are producing

More women on corporate boards, but progress slows

NEW YORK (AP) — The Fortune 500 is finding that a woman or two in the boardroom will due just nicely, thank you very much.

After winning seat after seat on big company boards in the early 1990s, women's progress in garnering directorships has slowed to a trickle, an annual count by a research group found last week.

Although 84 percent of the Fortune 500 have a woman on the board, the majority of those companies have just one. The number of companies with more than one woman on the board grew from 146 in 1994 to 181 this year.

"They name a woman and then they say they've got their woman," said Sheila Wellington, president of Catalyst, a non-profit group that studies women in business. "The companies that really value women's talents are naming multiple women to their boards."

Women board members notice the slowing progress as well.

"When there's one woman on the board, you can easily lapse into less eagerness for the second or the third," said Reatha Clark King, head of the General Mills Foundation and a member of four major corporate boards, including Exxon Corp.

"It's slow bringing people around to recognizing the advantages of broadening the diversity of the board," she added.

WITH THE appointment of King in June, Exxon has two women on its board. But spokesman Ed Burwell said he couldn't comment on whether the company planned to add more.

Since Catalyst began its survey in 1993, the number of companies with women directors has risen 21 percent. Women now make up just under 11 percent of the Fortune 500's 6,081 board seats.

Yet the number of companies with women directors rose less than 3 percent this year and 3 percent last year, following jumps of 9 percent from 1993 to 1994 and 7 percent from 1994 to 1995. Only two more Fortune 500 companies than last year have a woman on their board of directors, raising the total to 419, said Catalyst.

Most of the 81 companies with all-male boards "are not committed to the talents women bring," said Wellington.

She noted that last year Catalyst found a link between women's presence on boards and their advancement within a company. Every company last year that lacked women corporate officers had no women on its board either, Catalyst found.

Among the 81 companies that don't have a woman on their boards were sports equipment maker Reebok International, and UAL Corp. airlines.

Until recently, companies often sought chief executive officers as board members. "That knocks out women, because they haven't been there yet," said Paula Stern, an international consultant and member of the boards of Avon Products, Wal-Mart Stores, Westinghouse Electric and Harcourt General.

That's changing, as Stern's directorships attest. To halt cronyism and members who are spread too thin, directors are under increasing pressure to sit on just one or two boards.

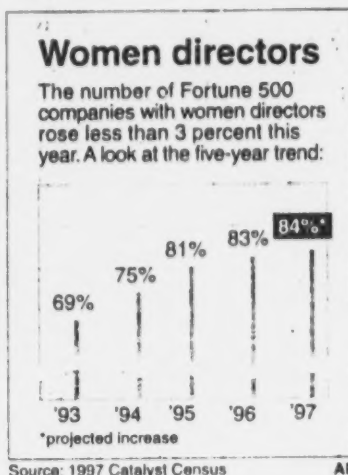


Figure 9. This bar chart does little to inform the public about the statistic that really matters: exactly how many women have been named to the Fortune 500 boards.

their own indicates the newspapers' desire to be their communities' voices, addressing their own problems and mindful of their own exigencies.

It is also interesting to note that the 61 error incidences noted above (Table 4) splits almost evenly between staff-produced charts and graphs from external sources (Table 6). The local papers, therefore, are producing their own charts and committing their own mistakes.

Table 5. Chart producer

Chart producer	Frequency	Percent occurrence
Newspaper staff	127	67.91
External source	60	32.08
Total	187	100

Table 6. Frequencies of mistakes made by internal and external chart producers

Chart producer	Frequency	Percent occurrence
Newspaper staff	33	54.10
External source	28	45.90
Total	61	100

CONCLUSION

The results indicate that while text has proven its power to express ideas over several millennia, the full potential of the modern infographic has yet to be realized, at least in Iowa. Our prodigious ability to produce attractive infographics, Kosslyn and Charris (1993) bemoans, has outstripped our knowledge of how to design and use them

well. The result is "a glut of beautiful ciphers – incomprehensible images clogging the information mainstream and impairing our understanding of the world and the issues that matter to us." The medium, therefore, has obscured the message.

While previous studies have documented low recall and comprehension scores among people exposed to charts, this low comprehension level is often attributed to "apathetic readers who seem to have a self-confessed aversion to numbers." Another explanation, however, is more likely: that charts, sometimes, simply do not make any sense.

There is anecdotal evidence that in many publications, especially among local newspapers, efforts to ensure accuracy in graphics have not been as extensive and effective as they are with the written word. Often this is because editors do not understand graphic forms and thus are not able to check a graphic as they would a written story. At some publications, editors may feel that because of the nature of the information in a graphic, there is very little danger of error creeping in. Some publications do not give editors an opportunity to check and question the information that is in a graphic. Finally, some graphic artists themselves do not understand the traditions and conventions of journalism and do not place a high degree of importance on the presentation of accurate information. They are concerned more with the artistic and technical aspects of developing a graphic and not so much with its informational content.

One of the major reasons for this plethora of errors is that those involved with the development of graphics often do not realize how complex and multi-dimensional their job is. They may not understand the conventions of the usage for graphic devices such as the line and pie chart. They may not be able to calculate or assess the numerical information with which they are working. Or they may not be able to understand the proper context in which information should be presented.

Clearly, future studies should illuminate the constraints that result to errors and inaccuracies in the graphical presentation of data for popular consumption.

That the errors are found in even the simplest charts containing the most basic of information and that they are present in charts drawn by sources both internal and external to the publication show that mistakes -- gross or otherwise -- are not the sole province of local newspapers. They can be found in every type of publication, from the smallest weekly newspapers to the most sophisticated national magazines.

The findings strengthen the old exhortation that graphic journalists must work under the same obligations to achieve accuracy as any reporter or editor, making every effort to see that they present correct, up-to-date information in the proper context for their readers.

Editors should also understand that good graphics take time to produce. The fact that a graphic journalist is using a computer does not mean that a graphic can be developed easily or quickly. Like a news story, a graphic depends on information, not form.

Using numbers -- counting things -- is one of the ways in which society knows about itself. Communities are so large and people's interests are so wide-ranging that their constituents somehow need to reduce what they know about themselves to numbers. Because it is journalism's responsibility to tell society about itself, journalists must learn to handle the large variety of numbers that come their way. And this must be done accurately and responsibly. Adhering to these two tenets will enable journalists to help their readers understand better who they are and what is happening in their societies.

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ALTERED PLATES:
PHOTO MANIPULATION AND THE SEARCH FOR NEWS VALUE
IN THE EARLY AND LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Recent cases of news photo manipulation have editors and photo directors up in arms over the dangers of digital technology. Photo manipulation, however, was not born in the digital world — it is only nurtured there. Artists and photographers have been altering and staging photos since the invention of photography in the 19th century. And the period from 1910 to the 1930s, immediately following the perfection of the halftone technique, was perhaps the heyday for news photo manipulation. The author details the environment which led to photo manipulation during the early twentieth century and in the concluding section compares this historical environment to today's conditions. This historical juxtaposition sheds light on some of the factors that influence photo manipulation today. The role of technology in adding or decreasing news value in photos is discussed, as are other factors, such as: the relative power of the art department; the view of news photos as preconceived illustrations; and the role of competition and deadline pressure.

ALTERED PLATES:
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INTRODUCTION

One night shortly before deadline, in a hectic newsroom at the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, three editors stare with concern at an image on a computer screen. The image is slated to be the centerpiece photo for the next-day's front-page report on Louisville's red-light district. The subject of the photo is a strip dancer performing a high kick in front of a crowd of bar patrons — and the strip dancer does not appear to be wearing underwear. There are no other strong art possibilities — one other photo has been scanned, but it was not considered to be centerpiece quality. The editors feel trapped between offending readers with a risque photo and pursuing what they think is an unethical option — digital photo manipulation. They choose the latter. The picture editor alters the dancer's sweater to cover the offending area and transmits the photo. The next morning senior editors find out about the photo manipulation, but no heads roll. In fact the executive editor feels that, under the circumstances, the right decision was made.¹

While this is a true story, it is not necessarily a unique one. There have been documented cases of photo manipulation in the 1990s at such reputable publications as *National Geographic*, *Time*, *Newsday*, *The Detroit News* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.² In the Dec. 2, 1997 issue of *Newsweek*, the crooked teeth of septuplet parent Bobbi McCaughey were digitally straightened and whitened for the cover shot.³ What is perhaps most alarming in the Louisville case is that editors chose to visually lie to readers when other options were available. They could have run the other photo, not run art at all, or even held the story — but they instead chose a quick technological fix. Altered photos arguably undercut readers' trust even more than textual inaccuracies, because news

¹ This incident took place in September 1996 and was reported on the Poynter Institute website in a story by Robert King. <http://www.poynter.org>.

² See Fred Ritchin, *In Our Own Image: The Coming Revolution in Photography* (New York: Aperture Foundation, Inc., 1990).

Panel debate. "Little Photoshop of Horrors: The Ethics of Manipulating Journalistic Imagery." *Print*, 49(6) (November 1995): 24-47.

³ "Light of the Dark," *The Atlanta Journal*, 26 November 1997, D2.

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photos convey a concrete believability that words do not.⁴ As one editor says, "This technology is dangerous. Readers think photos don't lie."⁵

Although digital technology makes manipulation quicker, easier and more difficult to detect than ever before, the technology did not create photo manipulation. Photographers and artists have been manipulating photos since the invention of photography by posing subjects and by using darkroom tricks. Some examples: In 1840, French photographer Hippolyte Bayard faked his own death in a photo;⁶ an 1864 photo of Abraham Lincoln was found to be an image of John C. Calhoun on which Lincoln's head had been superimposed; and it was not uncommon for Civil War photographers to move bodies of dead soldiers for dramatic shots.⁷

But perhaps no time period in the history of news photo manipulation can compare with the early decades of the 20th century. Artists routinely painted over photos, lab workers spliced together negatives and photographers fabricated events through elaborate posing. Artists and photographers manipulated photos for some of the same reasons editors at the *Courier Journal* manipulated the stripper photo. They too felt the pressures of deadlines and competition. And they too fell under the influence of technology (or sometimes the lack of it.) Then, as now, technology influenced editorial and public perceptions of news photography, thereby alternately encouraging and discouraging photo manipulation. It is this period — from around 1910 to 1939 — which this paper will explore in an effort to shed historical light on today's manipulation.

There has been little historical research on photo manipulation⁸ and none that the author could find which uses historical research as a tool for analyzing current photo manipulation. Most of

⁴ Christopher R. Harris, "Digitization and Manipulation of News Photography," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 6(3) (1991): 164-165.

⁵ Shiela Reaves, "What's Wrong with this Picture? Daily Newspaper Photo Editors' Attitudes and their Tolerance toward Digital Manipulation," *Newspaper Research Journal* 13,14 (Fall 1992/Winter 1993): 133.

⁶ Paul Lester, *Photojournalism: An Ethical Approach* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991) 91-92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

⁸ Lester, 90-105.
Bob Stepno, "Staged, faked and mostly naked: Photographs at the Evening Graphic (1924-1932)," Unpublished paper (1996).

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the literature focuses on the present ethical implications for news publications — what happens when readers and viewers stop believing in news images?⁹ — and on surveying editors' attitudes toward manipulation.¹⁰ Some researchers take the approach that all news photos are "constructed reality," and that digital technology does not alter photo reality any more than the photographer does when aiming the camera.¹¹

The author makes extensive reference to *Editor & Publisher*, the major trade journal of the newspaper industry, and *Photo-Era*, the major national magazine for photography during the early 20th century. Articles in these journals best display the predominant perceptions of news photography at that time — they show what editors and photographers considered to be desirable photographic practice. The paper's first part details the environment which led to photo manipulation during the historical period, and the paper's concluding section compares the historical environment to today's conditions. The author uses his seven years of newspaper experience in creating digital photo illustrations to help draw some of these conclusions.

BEFORE PROFESSIONALISM: THE ERA OF MANIPULATION FROM 1910 TO THE 1920S

The novelty of the halftone

Before the turn of the century, illustrated newspapers relied on their art departments for news pictures. Photos were taken, but they were only used as visual reference for engravings. Mass printing

⁹ See Fred Ritchin, *In Our own Image: The Coming Revolution in Photography*. Harris, 164-73.

Don Tomlinson, "Coalesce or Collide? Ethics, Technology, and TV Journalism 1991," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 2(2) (1987): 21-31.

Robert M. Steele, "Video Ethics: The Dilemma of Value Balancing," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 2(2) (1987): 7-17.

¹⁰ Reaves, 131-55.

George Albert Gladney and Matthew C. Erlich, "Cross-Media Response to Digital Manipulation of Still and Moving Images," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 40 (1996): 496-508.

¹¹ Kent Brecheen-Kirkton, "Visual Silences: How Photojournalism Covers Reality with the Facts," *American Journalism*, (Winter 1991): 27-34.

Paul Messaris, "Visual Literacy vs. Visual Manipulation," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 11 (1994): 180-203.

Stuart Hall, "The Determination of News Photographs," in *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, ed. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (London: Constable, 1981), 226-43.

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of photographs was impossible because there was no way to reproduce continuous gray-tone prints on a printing press. In the 1860s, a solution to this problem was found in the invention of the halftone block. The New York *Daily Graphic* used this invention in 1880 to publish a halftone photo for the first time in a newspaper.¹² But it wasn't until 1893 that Max and Louis Levy perfected the technique of exposing a photo through a screen of tiny "holes" onto a light-sensitive plate.¹³ This is the technique essentially used today¹⁴ — although digital scanning is becoming more and more prevalent.

This process sparked a dramatic rise in the number of newspaper photos. In 1900, all American newspapers printed around 100 photos per week, while in 1910, the New York daily papers alone printed an average of 903 per week.¹⁵

A *Harper's Weekly* editorial in 1911 stated that "we can't see the ideas for illustration. Our world is simply flooded with them."¹⁶ The public was picture crazy. The novelty of newspaper photos had caught the imagination, but readers were more impressed by the fact that a photograph could finally be made to appear in a newspaper than by the picture's content.¹⁷ The news editor also failed to recognize the news value of photos — he "used [the photo] because he believed it brightened or dressed up the newspaper...if it did not quite jibe with the words in sense, why that was alright too."¹⁸ Halftone technology had brought an entertaining novelty to the pages, and editors were eager to feed this interest.

¹² Kenneth Kobre, *Photojournalism: The Professional's Approach* (Boston: Focal Press, 1980), 8.

¹³ Kobre, 7

Laura Vitray, John Mills, Jr., and Roscoe Ellard, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939), 163-164.

¹⁴ Daniel D. Mich, "The Rise of Photojournalism in the United States," *Journalism Quarterly*, 24(3) (September, 1947): 204.a

¹⁵ Ulrich Keller, "Early Photojournalism," in *Communication in History*, ed. David Crowley and Paul Heyer (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Publisher USA, 1995), 195-196.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Lester, 99.

¹⁸ Wilson Hicks, "What is Photojournalism?" in *Photographic Communication*, ed. R. Smith Schuneman (New York: Hastings House, 1972), 37-38.

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Photos as illustrations

To editors, photos were illustrations, and their content was to be shaped according to the expectations and preferences of the public. A 1912 article relates an example of this editorial philosophy. The article describes manipulated distortion from motion in photography and newspaper editors' preference for this distortion. "The general public has come to recognize such distortion as meaning "speed," . . . One press photographer who snapped pictures of races in which the cars were not distorted . . . was told by his editor that he must get distortion!"¹⁹

The public demand for photos led to the creation of picture services. These services hired photographers to shoot subjects of interest to readers and offered these photos to news publications. Bert Underwood, president of the largest picture service of the era, described what he looked for in news photos: "Cheerfulness, personality, action and novelty . . ." ²⁰ There was no place for photos which challenged or disturbed the reader: "The morbid, cynical, the disillusioning, have an appeal only to the outnumbered few." ²¹ The photographer was not looking to reveal truth in these photos, nor even to illustrate news stories. His job was to illustrate pre-conceived categories which men like Underwood saw as interesting to the public: weddings, pretty women, infants, pets, etc. Underwood said the perfect picture "is one showing a good-looking society woman, a beautiful horse, and a pet or two — all in the same scene." ²² Charles Tebbs, art director for Hearst Newspapers in the early 1920s expressed a similar perception: "Pictures of pretty women and babies are interesting. Pictures of new celebrities are interesting and new pictures of old celebrities are interesting." ²³

The editorial view of photos as crowd-pleasing illustrations led to manipulation. Photographers routinely posed their subjects to create novelties: photos of very tall people next to

¹⁹ C.H. Claudy, "Photographic Distortion: Real and 'Faked'," *Scientific American* 106 (April 6, 1912), 309.

²⁰ Bert E. Underwood, "Photographs You Like to See in the Newspapers," *American Magazine* 92 (November, 1921) : 42.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

²² *Ibid.*, 97.

²³ Philip Schuyler, "Making a Picture Tell a News Story," *Editor & Publisher* (April 25, 1925) : 108.

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very short people; very fat people next to very thin people; a line of men with eye patches. One author described an example of this elaborating posing: a photographer "dressed up an old darkey as town-crier, put a bell in his hand and photographed him in action. It was such a remarkably interesting subject, that a score of papers printed it . . ." ²⁴ Altering photos to please the subjects was common as well. Underwood noted a problem in photographing elderly women — "they frequently object to 'close-ups . . .'" He suggests the photographer snap the picture from twenty feet away or that the art department remove wrinkles during retouching. ²⁵

The power of the art department

As mentioned earlier, until halftone technology took hold, newspapers portrayed news events in engravings, and photos were used only as reference for the artist. Artists had become accustomed to changing details of these engravings to improve aesthetics or to make scenes more emotionally engaging. To the art director, the reference photo had no artistic integrity (just as it had no journalistic integrity to the editor). Why should halftone photos be any different? ²⁶ Artists changed facial expressions, rearranged and removed elements, and cut photos into odd shapes, giving them decorative frames. ²⁷ They routinely created montages — photographed portraits were superimposed on photographed or painted backgrounds. Such manipulation was also inspired by "art concepts of picture making" ²⁸

The spirit of job justification may have also inspired heavy-handed art direction. As more newspapers switched over to photographs, engraved illustrations became increasingly rare, and artists lost positions. ²⁹ The idea of photographs moving straight from film to newsprint — and bypassing

²⁴ Edgar White, "Photography for the Fourth Estate," *Photo-Era* 53 (September, 1924) : 151.

²⁵ Underwood, 45.

²⁶ Lester, 100.

²⁷ Hicks, 55.

²⁸ John Nerone and Kevin G. Barnhurst, "Visual Mapping and Cultural Authority: Design Changes in U.S. Newspapers, 1920-1940," *Journal of Communications* 45(2) (Spring 1995) : 34.

²⁹ Keller, 196.

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the art department — was likely a frightening concept to increasingly insecure news artists.

During this time, the nascent photographic community was engaged in a debate over the issue of "straight" photography vs. "art" photography. Straight photography was unretouched (or lightly retouched) by the artist's brush. In art photography the photo was heavily painted — the original photo only served as a base for a future painting. In a 1915 photography magazine, a straight photographer discussed this debate and indicated that his view was in the minority. "It has been my misfortune to run counter to the most eminent pictorialists . . . in insisting that the untouched negative and a contact print therefrom may produce a work of art."³⁰ Even this purist, however, held that art photographers had raised the standing of photographers in the arts world: "it was the radical advance of the re-worker who resorted to any method to make his print great that has taken photography out of the class of the mechanical arts and . . . maintained for it a place among the fine arts."³¹ The only road to artistic acceptance, it seemed, was photo manipulation.

Get that picture: competition, hardship and manipulation

The public demand for photos led to a high level of competition between photographers, pictures services and newspapers. Camera and photo-transmission technology lagged behind printing technology, and this contributed to the pressures that came from competition. The cameras of the day no longer required tripods, but they were still large, intrusive and slow-lensed. As a result, candid shots were extremely difficult to get.³² One of Bert Underwood's photographers said, ". . . the hardest thing about this game is not breaking your neck climbing to places where you can get a picture or beating the other boy to the office with the copy. No sir. It's getting people to stand for it."³³ The later invention of smaller, quicker cameras which could capture candid shots increased the photographer's ability to get newsworthy photos. Prior to these candid cameras, however, subjects tended to be posed, and situations tended to be stale and manipulated. Photos had a "watch the

14. 30 Sigismund Blumann, "Is There a Place Left for Straight Photography?" *Photo-Era* 34 (January 1915):

31 Blumann, 15.

32 Hicks, 38.

33 Will Irwin, "The Swashbucklers of the Camera," *Collier's* 48 (Feb. 3, 1912): 13.

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birdie" feel to them. Subjects would pose according to their profession: a comic would grimace humorously, an actor would effect drama, singers would open mouths wide as if singing a high note.³⁴

Early flash photography was also an obstacle to candid photos. Flammable flash powder, which had been invented in 1887, eliminated the difficulty of indoor exposures, but it was perhaps the most highly intrusive and obnoxious aspect of the photographic process. The flash was responsible for many fires and explosions and, needless to say, did not help to make the photographer an accepted participant at public or private events.³⁵ Many courtrooms forbade photographers because of the flash.³⁶ In a 1947 article, Basil Walters, executive editor of Knight newspapers, cited flash powder as the primary reason for earlier and continuing prejudice against newspaper photography.³⁷

Transporting the photo to the news publication was also difficult, especially if the event was out of town. In the days before wirephoto, delivery by mail or express company was agonizingly slow for photographers trying to scoop competitors. Traveling photographers often did not have the proper equipment, as one photographer explained: "There's where you're always up against it on the road, — making dark rooms to develop or to change plates. I've used a hotel bathroom twenty times and a hotel closet with my coat stuffed into the cracks."³⁸

Despite these obstacles, editors still demanded and fully expected interesting shots — photos that would be more interesting than competitors' photos. Photographers lived by the creed, "get the picture." As Wilson Hicks, former art director for *Life* magazine, said, more important than the artistic or news value of a photo was "the event itself, with stress on the fact of the photographer's

³⁴ Tim N. Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973), 11.

³⁵ Gidal, 8-9.

³⁶ Jack Price, "Judges Need no Additional Laws to Maintain Dignity of Courts," *Editor & Publisher* (December 7, 1935): 29.

³⁷ Basil L. Walters, "Pictures vs. Type Display in Reporting the News," *Journalism Quarterly* 24(3) (September 1947): 195.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

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presence at that event."³⁹

Charles Tebbs, national art director for Hearst newspapers in the 1920s, said, "A cameraman must never be stumped by anything. Don't come back without the picture, is the most important rule of all. There are certain tricks that never fail."⁴⁰ Photo manipulation was among the tricks in Tebbs' bag, as illustrated by an episode from his early days as a photographer. Tebbs' editor had sent him to photograph a race track tout (a person who sells tips on race horses) who was to be a witness in a court case. When Tebbs arrived, the man had passed out from drinking.

The chap was lying on his side in bed. 'Don't wake him up,' I was told. 'He doesn't want his picture taken.'

I took about four time exposures of the one side of his face that was visible. A flash would have waked him. When I got to the office, I reversed the print on one side and put the two together. I had as good a full face view as you could wish. Then I painted a pair of eyes over his closed lids, and smoothed down his rumpled hair. The result was a nicely posed picture.⁴¹

There are other examples of manipulation spurred by desperation. New York *Journal* photographer Harry Coleman admitted in his book, "Give Us a Little Smile, Baby," that if he found himself without a photo of a deceased person, he would find the body at the morgue, dress it in a shirt and tie, prop it up and shoot it as a "life-like" portrait.⁴²

Famous New York crime photographer Arthur Fellig — more commonly known as Weegee — explained how he used photo manipulation to beat the competition financially: "If I had a picture of two handcuffed criminals being booked, I would cut the picture in half and get 5 bucks for each."⁴³

In one of the most notorious examples of photo manipulation caused by the philosophy of "getting the picture at any cost," the New York *Daily Graphic* in 1926 fabricated a courtroom scene through the technique of photo composites. The judge had barred photographers from the courtroom during a divorce case, and so the *Daily Graphic* created a fake courtroom scene by

³⁹ Hicks, 38.

⁴⁰ Schuyler, 108.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Lester, 104.

⁴³ Kobre, 19.

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photographing a group of reporters and superimposing head shots of jury members on the reporters' bodies. Circulation jumped 100,000 papers, and over the next few years the *Graphic* printed many more "composographs." This form of obvious manipulation was a forerunner of digital composites seen in today's supermarket tabloids.⁴⁴

A good example of altering a photo for a "scoop" occurred in the late 1930s, even as newspapers were beginning to pull away from extensive photo manipulation. A photo of a winning catch in a local football game, taken exclusively by a photographer at the *Dayton (Ohio) Herald*, was initially deemed unusable because "the catch" was only a very small portion of the photo. The quality of the enlarged photo was poor, so the art department heavily retouched the photo. Actually, the artist completely painted over the photo, removing the background and "working over the players." The result resembled an awkward painting more than a photo. An *Editor and Publisher* article hailed the retoucher's "scoop."⁴⁵

Swashbuckling picture men

From 1910 to the 1920s news photography was far from being a respected profession. The news photographer was seen as at worst a ruffian and at best a swashbuckling romantic. A 1912 interview with several New York photographers (in "The Swashbucklers of the Camera") depicts the photographer as a lovable scoundrel who is sometimes just this side of the law.

The ordinary news photographer . . . has in his life rough-and-ready romance to spare. . . [He is] a nuisance to public meetings, a thorn in the flesh of 'society,' a delight to a gaping . . . public and the blessing or bane of the city desk, according to whether or no he 'comes through with the copy'.⁴⁶

Photo-service president Bert Underwood said, "I often think that the news photographer of today is trading on the last stamping grounds of romance. . . To him the picture's the thing — not

⁴⁴ "Composographs," *Life* 28 (Jan. 2, 1950) : 95.

⁴⁵ Johnson, Bervin A. "Retoucher's Art Provides 'Scoop' on Winning Football Play," *Editor & Publisher* (Nov. 12, 1938). II.

⁴⁶ Irwin, 11.

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the danger he runs in getting it."⁴⁷

Yet for news photography to gain journalistic respect and for news photos to gain integrity, editors and readers would need to see photographers as more than daring thrill-seekers. Photographers would need to become journalists, and readers and editors would need to recognize news value in photos. Improved cameras, flashes, and perhaps most importantly, the arrival of wire photos, contributed importantly to this metamorphosis. As improved technology made photographer's work less difficult and less hair-raising, romance ebbed away and professionalism flowed in.

TOWARD PROFESSIONALISM: THE TWENTIES AND THIRTIES

Over the late 1920s and 1930s, news photography first began to establish itself as a profession. Slowly but surely, the news photo was becoming more than just an entertaining novelty and more than just the visual evidence of a newspaper scoop. It was becoming "news." This transformation began to infuse news photos with integrity and photographers with professionalism. Photo manipulation would not become obsolete, but photographers did begin to develop a higher sense of purpose and ethical standards that were to make manipulation less acceptable.

A foothold on respectability

By the mid-1920s there was evidence that the perception of news photos was changing. A Gallup survey revealed that newspaper readers had a great interest in news pictures and an even greater interest in photos that ran in sequence to tell a news story without text.⁴⁸ Photographer Thurlow Weed Barnes declared, "The readers of these papers [New York illustrated papers] can get the news by pictures. They get at once a visual conception of what is going on in much less time than would be required to wade through columns of printed space." Barnes credited the photo's emerging news value to, in part, "the perfection of lenses, film and cameras, and the improvements in

⁴⁷ Underwood, 98.

⁴⁸ Mich, 205.

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the art of engraving and reproduction . . . " However, he does not believe news photographers to be highly skilled, nor news photography to be an exclusive profession: "Anyone who has a Graflex [camera] and is on the job when anything happens in his locality can get his 'shot' accepted [by a newspaper]."⁴⁹

In a 1929 article, news photographer Thomas Phillips contradicted the idea that anyone can shoot news photos. Recent accounts by free-lancers, said the author, had created some erroneous beliefs: "They think that press-photography is haphazard and is dependent solely on luck. I thought this same thing. I lasted only sixty days on my first newspaper job." Phillips discussed news photography in the same tone one would discuss a profession: "The essentials of good press-photography [are] the combining of the simple fundamentals of newspaper reporting with the technique of photography. . . You must have ability to see and understand what has news-value." Phillips also details improved technology and techniques in news photography.⁵⁰

Photographer Robert R. Miller, in a 1929 article, categorized types of newspaper camera work by separating "news-photography" from "pictorial journalism." The author described the pictorial journalist as producing "more artistic press-photographs" for features and Sunday sections while the news photographer shoots less-refined shots to accompany hard-news articles.⁵¹ This specialization is another sign of news photography's budding professionalism.

Miller also promoted the "hand camera": "Practically all press photographers, whether news or pictorial, use small cameras with fast, high-grade lenses, making small, sharp negatives . . ."⁵² Some of the first technological changes to improve the lot of photographers were in the area of camera development.

Camera development and "realness"

⁴⁹ Thurlow Weed Barnes, "Seeing is Believing in News-Pictures," *Photo-Era* 56 (March 1926) : 129.

⁵⁰ Thomas Phillips, "Press-Photography and Newspaper Reporting," *Photo-Era* 62 (June, 1929) : 310-311.

⁵¹ Robert R. Miller, "News-Photography versus Pictorial Journalism," *Photo-Era* 63 (October 1929) : 182.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 189-190.

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The Graflex was the most popular news camera from the turn of the century to the 1920s, but it was largely replaced in the Twenties by the more durable Speed Graphic camera, which also had the advantage of quicker and more flexible focusing. Bellows connected the lens to the camera box and would expand or contract during focusing.⁵³ Like the Graflex, the Speed Graphic was large and obtrusive. It was not until the development and sale of the small, hand-held Leica camera in Germany in 1925 that photographers had a camera capable of consistently producing candid shots.⁵⁴ (American photographers only began to use the Leica around 1932.) A 1938 ad for the Leica camera stated: "Unobtrusive, small, simple and easy . . . to operate, the Leica gets you the unposed, unaware action shots that mean NEWS."⁵⁵

The Leica was not only small and unobtrusive, but used 35mm film which the photographer could rapidly advance, capturing unfolding events in continual exposures without having to reload. The first photographers to make use of these cameras shot their photos for the budding German illustrated papers of the Twenties and Thirties. The photos in these papers displayed an unprecedented degree of candidness, and therefore realness, which made manipulation unnecessary and even undesirable. Wilson Hicks said, "Events involving people could be recorded just as they happened. To take a picture it was no longer necessary to halt people in the course of life, depicting their personalities as camera conscious or arranging themselves as they would like to appear, not as they really appeared."⁵⁶ German photographers like Erich Salomon and Alfred Eisenstaedt gained a reputation — not as swashbuckling romantics — but as serious visual documentarians.⁵⁷

Despite its obvious advantages, the hand-held camera was regarded by American news photographers as a sort of toy and resisted its use in favor of cameras like the Speed Graphic until the late Thirties and Forties. There was a bias toward the larger, seemingly harder Speed Graphic, and

⁵³ Kobre, 23.

⁵⁴ Jack Price, "Press Pictures Have Come Far in Half a Century," *Editor & Publisher* (Feb. 19, 1938) : 38.
Kobre, 24.

⁵⁵ *Editor & Publisher* (Feb. 19, 1938) : 37.

⁵⁶ Hicks, 42.

⁵⁷ Gidal, 16-17.

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some photographers used it even into the 1950s. Robert Boyd, a past president of the National Press Photographers Association, was once asked what the Graphic could do that the smaller 35mm cameras could not. Boyd put the big camera on the ground and sat on it.⁵⁸

There was also some resistance to the increasingly candid nature of the new photographs. Public figures were embarrassed by published photos showing them in mid-bite at a meal or with face contorted during a sneeze. H.L. Smith, former news editor and professor at the Wisconsin University journalism school, referred to the news photo as the "youngest and lustiest brat of the Fourth Estate's large family of problem children."⁵⁹ Despite this opposition, candid cameras kept on clicking — and infusing news photos with a higher degree of realness.

In short, the development of camera technology during the Twenties and Thirties contributed to the acceptance of news photography as a journalistic profession by adding candidness and realness to news photos. "Getting that shot" became easier, and the shots themselves had more impact. There were fewer reasons for photographers to pose or set up shots because candid shots were more interesting to the reader and had more news value. There was also less reason to manipulate photos because of an inability to get the shot — e.g., painting eyeballs on sleeping men, dressing up corpses and superimposing jurors' heads on reporters' bodies — because improved camera technology gave photographers a much better chance of getting good shots. In 1935 wirephoto, yet another technological advance, was to further contribute to the professionalism of news photography and the integrity of the news photo.

Wirephoto: News photography comes of age

In the spring of 1925, tornados devastated regions of Southern Illinois, Indiana and Missouri. In late March, after the devastation, the newspaper trade journal *Editor & Publisher* reported in an inconspicuous paragraph: "The American Telephone and Telegraph Company sent remarkable tornado pictures by wire from Chicago to New York, March 19. The New York World . . . received

⁵⁸ Kobre, 24.

⁵⁹ "Authorities Take Issue as to Whether Candid Cameras are too Candid," *Newsweek* 10(19) (Nov. 8, 1937): 29.

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telegraph pictures from St. Louis the same day."⁶⁰ Photographs had begun to travel by wire in the first decade of the century, but only in the mid-1920s was there any kind of national distribution⁶¹ — and this was limited and undependable. Also, photo quality was often poor. Some photos were marred because the scanning lines from the light beam which transmitted the picture were visible.⁶² One editor told the Associated Society of Newspaper Editors, that wire photos "fail as yet to register recognizable features . . . [They have] traded sharp black and white details for less detail, duller blacks and grayer whites."⁶³ Many editors ignored the fact that even a wire photo of poor quality could bring the reader visual information from a distant place that could be obtained no other way. Wire photos, like local photos, were seen as possessing little news value.⁶⁴

Then on midnight, January 1, 1935, the Associated Press sent a wire photo of a plane crash in the Adirondack Mountains simultaneously to its 24 members who had the technology.⁶⁵ This was the birth of AP Wirephoto — and the most important date yet in news photography's coming of age in the United States. By 1936, the other three major news photo services — NEA-Acme, Inc. (Scripps-Howard), Wide World Photos (New York Times) and International News Photos (Hearst) — had started sending wire photos to subscribers on a regular basis. Also in 1936, AP announced the availability of portable wirephoto transmitting machines, which allowed photographers to send photos from the news scene itself.⁶⁶ Most of the machines in the late thirties transmitted 7 by 9 prints,⁶⁷ and transmission of each photo took about 15 minutes. In 1935 the AP sent an average of 40 photos per

⁶⁰ "Tornado Pictures by Wire," *Editor & Publisher* (March 21, 1925) : 12.

⁶¹ Vicki Goldberg, "The News Photograph," in *Communication in History*, ed. David Crowley and Paul Heyer (White Plains, N.Y. : Longman Press USA, 1995), 216.

⁶² Vitray, 22.

⁶³ Barbara Zelizer, "Journalism's Last Stand: Wirephoto and the Discourse of Resistance," *Journal of Communication* 45(2) (Spring 1995) : 84.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 80.

⁶⁶ Bice Clemow, "Picture Services Rushing into Field of Telephotograph Transmission," *Editor & Publisher* (Feb. 29, 1936) : 3.

⁶⁷ Vitray, 19-20.

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day to subscribers.⁶⁸

In January, 1936, an Associated Press advertisement in *Editor & Publisher* reflected on (and promoted) the first year of wirephoto.

Eighteen thousand pictures, travelling 180 million miles, made it possible for the news-hungry public to see, with the keen eyes of the camera that miss no detail, the what and how and why of everything that was news — while it was news . . . The result of a year of Wirephoto is a new kind of reporter, a newsman trained to see news in terms of pictures which can be delivered an hour from now instead of tomorrow, or next day.⁶⁹

Photography seemed to be finally catching up with print. Now readers could view an event from almost anywhere in the world just as quickly as they could read about it. And because AP could send a photo from anywhere and have it printed while the event or issue was still news, AP was more likely to put forth the effort to get the picture. The wire photo's immediacy and omnipresence infused the news photo with news value.⁷⁰ A new-found respect for news photos increased in the late 1930s, and there is little doubt that wirephoto played a part. It is impossible to say that technological improvements like wirephoto led directly to news photo integrity and therefore decreased manipulation. But it is clear that wirephoto greatly increased editors' chances of getting photos that were interesting because of their actual content and news value. Such photos would please readers without posing or manipulation.

In 1935 *Editor & Publisher* started its first regular column devoted to news photography. Former photographer Jack Price wrote the column, and in his first effort, Price noted the changing attitude toward news photography: "The snobbishness of the scribe towards the photographer is fast disappearing . . . Photography has a very definite place in modern journalism . . ." ⁷¹

Louis Ruppel, managing editor of the *Chicago Daily Times* in 1937, noted the need for news photos in an increasingly competitive media environment. Newspapers were being challenged by radio news, newsreels and picture magazines, and television was around the corner. Papers needed

⁶⁸ Clemow, 3.

⁶⁹ *Editor & Publisher* (Jan. 18, 1936) : 29.

⁷⁰ Vitray, 7-8.

⁷¹ Jack Price, "Eyes of the Press," *Editor & Publisher* (Aug. 17, 1935) : 36.

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wire photos and local news photos to compete successfully. Ruppel said, "A story without a picture is like a telephone conversation with someone you have never met face to face." He said he believed that the public was no longer satisfied with reporting as usual but instead demanded photographs for a complete report of the news.⁷²

Even newspaper art departments appeared to be gaining a new respect for the integrity of photos. A 1939 textbook declared that fancy, ornamented cropping should be discouraged: "A newspaper photo has a story to tell, a message to convey. It should do so as simply as possible, and does not need a scalloped or wave-line edge to add to its effectiveness."⁷³ A 1938 article on retouching techniques denounced heavy-handedness and emphasized retouching with care: "Portraits will require the most lining and spotting work. This must be done with discretion. Grotesque effects are ruinous. Slight changes in the eyes and mouth can easily ruin expression."⁷⁴ Another author laments the fact that too much retouching work is "out of date" because artists using old techniques paint over too much of the true character of the subject.⁷⁵

One publication that had a stated commitment to unretouched photography was the new picture magazine, *Life*. *Life* magazine began publication in 1936, and its new bold approach to photography made waves in the publishing world.⁷⁶ Former *Life* art director Wilson Hicks credits the magazine for the movement away from retouching, silhouetting and intricately framing photos.

... most newspapers ... had carried retouching to a point where the printed picture was a combination of photograph and hand 'art' work. *Life* acted on its strong conviction that if the photograph as information was to be worthwhile, it should transmit the world of appearance to the

72 "'People are Picture Nuts' says Louis Ruppel of Chicago Times," *Editor & Publisher* (April 24, 1937) : 86.

73 Vitray, 143.

74 E.J. Andrews, "Retouching Newspaper Photos," *Editor & Publisher* (Sept. 17, 1938) : III.

75 John Erith, "75% of Negative Retouching is out of Date!" *American Photography* 33 (April 1939) : 280-83.

This article raises another interesting point. The author says that the recent explosion in camera-use by amateurs had conditioned people to the look of non-retouched photos. The author of this article specifically addresses studio-portrait photography, but it is reasonable to extend this idea to news photography. Amateur photographers might have helped pave the way for straight photography in news publications.

76 Price, "Press Pictures have Come Far," 38.

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reader in the purest form possible.⁷⁷

There is no doubt that newspapers felt pressure from the popularity of these publications. In 1937 *Life* established a new high for magazine circulation in the United States, and the magazines hired away many of the newspapers' most promising photographers.⁷⁸

By the late Thirties, the news industry as a whole was giving the news photograph more respect — and more newsprint space. A study by a Chicago advertising firm showed that photo use among non-tabloid newspapers increased 40.8% from 1931 to 1937. Photos were also running larger. The same study found a decrease in one-column photos from 1931 to 1937 (33.3% to 30.7%) and an increase in three-column photos (10.7% to 15.7%).⁷⁹ An *Editor & Publisher* survey of U.S. and Canadian newspapers revealed that papers printed approximately 1.4 million photos and publishers spent more than \$8 million on photography in 1937. The arrival of wirephoto was the biggest factor involved in this upsurge — almost half of the \$8 million was spent on wirephoto services.⁸⁰ Such figures demonstrated a growing commitment to news photos. In a highly competitive media environment, newspapers were devoting a great deal of space and money to photography. Clearly the news value of these photos justified this new commitment.

Despite advances in the thirties, some scholars hold that it was during World War II that newspaper photography truly grew up and transformed itself into the full-fledged profession of photojournalism.⁸¹ This view is not unanimous, however. Newspaper photography seemed to have missed an opportunity during the war, according to some post-war journalists. Basil Waters said: "Steady progress was made in pictorial reporting and editing until the second world war. But both pictorial reporting and editing suffered a severe slump during the war. This was due partly to man-

⁷⁷ Hicks, 54-55.

⁷⁸ Price, "Press Pictures have Come Far," 38.

⁷⁹ George A. Brandenburg, "Huge Gain in Use of Pictures Shown in Survey of Dailies," *Editor & Publisher* (Feb. 19, 1938): 8.

⁸⁰ Warren L. Bassett, "Dailies Spend 8 Million Yearly To Cover News Pictorially," *Editor & Publisher* (Feb. 19, 1938): 5.

⁸¹ Zelizer, 82.

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power and paper shortages. Possibly it was due to the fact that the younger newspaper men, who were picture-minded, were in the armed services."⁸²

There is no doubt, however, that in the late Twenties and Thirties news photographers and editors laid the groundwork for the post-war emergence of ethical guidelines and professional standards.

CONCLUSIONS: APPLYING HISTORICAL LESSONS TO TODAY

During the first decades of this century, newspaper editors used an increasing number of news photos but had no ethical guidelines to prevent altering of these photos. The result was rampant manipulation. News photography was not viewed as a journalistic profession, and news photos were not viewed as "news." They were seen as interesting novelty — or later in this period, as visual evidence of a scoop over a competitor.

Today's surge in manipulated photos takes place in a much different news environment. Photojournalism is a fully established and reputable branch of journalism and has been recognized as such for about 50 years. Photojournalists today follow ethical and legal guidelines, discuss such guidelines within professional organizations and teach these guidelines in universities. How is it possible then, that news publications are presently experiencing a second era of rampant photo manipulation?

While the two periods are different, there are similarities. A number of the conditions that led to manipulation in the earlier period resonate today.

1. Novelty and experimentation

The novelty of the halftone created a high level of public interest, and editors experimented with different ways to feed this interest. They tested the boundaries of the medium of photography by setting up outlandish poses, painting over photos, splicing negatives together and distorting "speed" photos. In the 1990s, Editors and artists have also tested the boundaries of the new

⁸² Walters, 193.

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technology. There is a "gee-whiz" allure to digital technology in the '1990s⁸³ as well as to halftone technology at the beginning of the century. Fascination with new technology has led editors and artists astray in both eras.

Manipulation has also been carried out in both eras to please or entertain the reader. Bert Underwood's advocacy of heavy-handed retouching of elderly ladies' photos exemplifies this trend in the 1920s. The manipulation of the dancer's sweater in the *Courier-Journal* story is an example from the 1990s. Another example is a 1994 fake created by *Newsday*. Artists superimposed separate images of Nancy Kerrigan and Tonya Harding skating on an ice-skating rink. The two had not yet practiced together, and the composite was created apparently to feed on readers' interest in the tension between the two skaters.⁸⁴ Perhaps the most recent example of crowd-pleasing manipulation is *Newsweek's* whitening and straightening of the septuplet mother's teeth. Did editors feel readers would be turned off by crooked teeth?

2. Technology: Adding and removing news value

Technological improvements in the 1930s allowed photographers to snap candid shots, thereby lending more realness to photos and infusing them with news value. These photos were more likely to tell an authentic and fresh story. Wirephoto had a similar effect. By allowing photos to arrive instantly from anywhere in the world that news was happening, wirephoto strengthened the ability of the photographer to report the news.

Digital technology used for manipulation decreases news value in photos. A photo's news value lies in its realness — in its literal similarity to the actual news event. Any digital change to the photo makes it less similar to the news event and therefore removes news value. However, digital technology used for photo transmission adds news value to photos for the same reasons that wirephoto added news value. Digital transmission is quicker and more reliable than the old analog transmission, thereby increasing the number of timely, high quality news photos received by news publications.

3. The power of the art department

⁸³ From the author's experience as an art director and photo illustrator.

⁸⁴ "Little Photoshop of Horrors," 29.

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From 1910 to the 1930s, news artists gradually lost job positions to photographers and the relevance of art departments within news organizations diminished. However, the artist's position was still strong relative to the photographer's because the photographer had not yet been accepted into the journalistic profession. For decades newspapers had relied on painters and engravers for art, and while "word men" might not have fully accepted them either, at least artists were seen as possessing skill and talent. Photographers were viewed as mere technicians. Art directors at newspapers were likely to have been engravers or painters themselves, and they did not hesitate to add their touch to the raw photo. Former *Life* magazine art director Wilson Hicks describes the environment:

The editor selected the picture and his art department 'tricked it up,' the better to catch the reader's eye. It was in wholly sympathetic hands at last when it reached the newspaper or magazine layout artist for the silhouette, cooky shape or decorative border treatment. . . . The artist 'added' to the photograph: there were no bounds to the audacity of his efforts to 'improve' it.⁸⁵

The dynamics of the newsroom in the early 1990s were similar. The 1980s had brought Macintosh computers into newsrooms, and newspapers, led by *USA Today*, were suddenly alive with color, graphics and intricate layouts. This "design revolution" led to the beefing up of news art departments and the hiring of computer-savvy artists.⁸⁶ Today many editors are putting an emphasis on attractive pages that rivals the emphasis on news reporting. It is only natural for artists in such an environment to use digital technology to improve the look of pages, and this sometimes means altering photos to achieve this look. It is common for artists to blur photo edges, extend edges of photos to change their dimensions, "cut out" figures and merge them into single images, and create photo montages.⁸⁷ As in an earlier era, artists today are "tricking up" pictures to catch the reader's eye.

4. Photos as illustrations

Prior to the late 1920s, editors were not interested in a photo telling a news story: Photos were illustrations, and the photographer's job was to "illustrate the story," as Hearst art director Charles Tebbs said. This emphasis on illustrating led to photo manipulation through elaborate posing of

⁸⁵ Hicks, 38.

⁸⁶ From Tony Deferia interview and author's experience. Also see "Little Photoshop of Horrors."

⁸⁷ From author's experience. Also see Reaves.

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subjects or heavy photo retouching after the shot.

Today, with the new emphasis on page design, news art directors and editors are increasingly viewing photos as illustrations. One author describes the situation:

In today's posed photographs people are made to do things that they are not used to doing — a successful bank president might throw money into the air, for example, or pose clothed in gold. Photographs are manufactured rather than elicited, and people are made into powerful cartoon characters. . . . Another tendency in editorial photography is that of employing pre-existing images as simple-minded support for the point of view of the more articulate text. If, for example, the text says that George Bush has recently succeeded with certain initiatives, he will be shown smiling at the White House. . . . a photographer will not be asked to investigate Bush's true state; his or her images will be used as stick figures to 'prove' the text's point.⁸⁸

Such use of photos as pre-conceived illustrations diminishes the integrity of the photo. As was seen in the first few decades of this century, when news photos have little news value, manipulation is a short step away.

5. Competition pressures

"Get that photo" was a rallying cry of early news photographer. Competition between newspapers, magazines and photo services was strong, and papers would even fake or alter a photo in order to best the competition.

With broadcast and cable television, radio, and the Internet, media competition is stronger than ever for newspapers, and pressure from competition is intense. Digital technology gives the print media a strong tool to use in competing visually with other media, and photos are often altered to improve the look of pages. This mandate for visually enticing pages can also cause editors to make bad decisions about manipulation on deadline. In the *Courier-Journal* example, editors said they felt backed into a corner — yet they did not even consider running the weaker photo or not running art with the story. They felt that having strong art was an unquestionable imperative.

What can be done then, to control digital photo manipulation? Most papers have strict official policies banning manipulation of straight news photos⁸⁹, but the problem continues. It is clear that there needs to be an understanding on a level deeper than the policy memo. Editors, photo directors and art directors who care about maintaining the integrity of news photos and putting a stop to

⁸⁸ Ritchin, 46-48.

⁸⁹ King, Poynter Institute website.

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manipulation of these photos can take several lessons from history. They should be aware of the influence that changing technology can have on the perception of news value in photos. They should be conscious of the relative power of art departments to photo departments and how this equilibrium may affect photo integrity. They should be conscious of having preconceived ideas when assigning news photos. And they should also be aware of the effect deadline and competition pressures may have on decisions about photo manipulation. The key is to respect the news value and integrity of the news photo. Otherwise the battle won in the late 1930s over rampant manipulation may be lost again.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD AND ALTERNATIVE
FORMS OF PHOTOJOURNALISM

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD AND ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF PHOTOJOURNALISM

ABSTRACT

By the mid-1950s standard photojournalism practices were established which excluded alternative practices. This paper explores their development from the 1930s through the 1950s. Standards of journalistic objectivity and an emphasis on the denotative qualities of photography were propagated by editors and reporters. This style of photojournalism is presented in contrast to the work of Robert Frank. His photography was not accepted in journalism because of his subjective style.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD AND ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF PHOTOJOURNALISM

Introduction

The New York School style of street photography, a form of documentary photography, achieved widespread popularity in the 1960s. Practitioners of this form emphasized the emotions of the scene photographed by becoming part of the scene itself. Freelance photographers who worked in journalism practiced this photography on their own time, but not while they were on assignment for publications. This form appeared outside of New York in the 1950s as part of a reaction against the constraints of the standard photojournalism practiced at most newspapers and magazines. It was never adopted by the mainstream press. Instead, it existed as an alternative form of photojournalism appearing in non-mainstream magazines, foreign magazines or books.

This paper discusses the development of standard photojournalism and the alternative path. This requires a study of photographers, their work and publications of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. The standard practices of photojournalism in these decades are contrasted to the alternative practice's most well known photographer, Robert Frank. Although other photographers are mentioned for context, Frank is emphasized because of all practitioners of the alternative style his work comes the closest to photojournalism. It may be this reason why his work was viewed as controversial. He and mainstream photojournalists photographed many of the same subjects and utilized the same popular symbols of photojournalism. However, Frank was seen as an opinionated, nonobjective photographer. Well-received exhibitions of his photographs in recent years have apparently secured the importance of his work and his style.

Frank donated his negatives and prints to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., so they could be preserved.

The standard practice of photojournalism in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s was event-oriented, not intimate, and quickly done for short deadlines. Editors wanted images that could be quickly understood by themselves and their readers. They expected photographers to pursue simplicity over complex aesthetics for readers who weren't expected to ponder a photograph like they would a painting. Photographers were given assignments or chased spot news in an attempt to simply illustrate the scene in almost the same way engravings were used in the 19th century. Photographs were expected to be used as a mode of identification of people, places, or things. Getting a photo of the action or event was paramount compared to creating an aesthetically exciting image.

In an attempt to break away from standard photojournalism, a handful of photographers began working more independently to document the world around them. This alternative photojournalism was not a single style but an attitude shared by different photographers. Photographers seeking to break away from the standard utilized different styles for the purpose of creating a more personal record of their surroundings. Most of the photographers attempting this break worked in the vicinity of New York City. The city was the home to most of the high paying and high profile magazines as well as a thriving avant-garde art community. One of the most notable photographers who spurned the mainstream for more personal photographic projects was Frank. He is an interesting figure because he pushed the concept of photojournalism to the edge with his dark and moody approach. Frank's photography required more interpretation by the viewer than standard photojournalism. Frank was admired or despised because his vision was

radical. He attempted to make a statement with his photographs by printing grainy and contrasty images which were hurriedly taken. Frank's aesthetic and idiosyncratic approach did not attract U.S. publishers. His first book, The Americans, was first published in France.

Frank was motivated to work outside standard photojournalism--in European publications and documentary books--because they felt a need to be more subjective in their photography. This subjective approach was troublesome to editors because it went against the traditions of newspaper photography and diminished editors' control. This subjective approach required allowing the photographer longer deadlines, more control over the editing and layout of photographs, and the opportunity to engage subjects more intimately, which gives the appearance of less journalistic objectivity. Frank, who worked as a freelancer for journalistic and fashion magazines, including LIFE, desired to publish photographs that were different than standard photojournalism. His grainy and blurry style sometimes broke from the norms of both photojournalism and general photographic practice. The subjects of his photographs ranged from the poor to the rich. His style would become accepted in the 1960s and routine for future generations of photographers. However, for the 1940s and 1950s, the work of photographers like Frank, William Klein, and their peers within the informal New York School, were on the cutting edge of both photojournalism and art photography.

The significance of this research is two-fold. First, conflicts within photojournalism are generally overlooked by media scholars. Second, it examines the interaction of photojournalism with trends in art and photography in general. This is an opportune moment to conduct this research because enough time has passed to examine the photography in a political, professional, and cultural context. The documents used for this research are published photographs, art and

book reviews, and popular and academic writing on photojournalism.

This paper is divided into four additional sections. The first section, photojournalism in the 1930s and 1940s, is presented to provide a deeper understanding of standard photojournalism. In the second section, photojournalism and photography in the 1950s, the different photographic styles at work in the 1950s are discussed to provide a timelier context for Frank's photography. In the third section, Robert Frank, his book, The Americans, is used as an example of the alternative form of photojournalism. Finally, the conclusion discusses why Frank's style remained outside of standard photojournalism.

Photojournalism in the 1930s and 1940s

The typical photojournalism of 1930s and 1940s was the newspaper or magazine photographer. Newspaper photographers worked with large, awkward cameras which prohibited them from reacting quickly to action. Magazine photographers increasingly used smaller, lighter cameras allowing a more subtle, candid photography. These smaller cameras required less steps to work and many different exposures could be made in rapid succession. Of the two, magazine photographers had better reputations but both were looked down upon by editors and reporters who thought photographers were simply skilled laborers. The different equipment, along with different professional ideologies, meant newspapers and magazines covered events differently, but still journalistically. Subjects in newspaper photographs often looked stiff and rigid, while magazine subjects often looked casual and unaware of the camera's presence. Newspaper photographers were still using their large cameras and still shooting mundane assignments. Scherschel and Kalish credit eighty percent of a photographer's camera work to the "routine assignment" which lacked any glamour. Other assignments were sports, special (society, fashion,

rotogravure jobs, and commercial work) and "fast-breaking thrilling news."¹ Photography in general was varied, too. Social documentary, photojournalism and formalism were the three primary photographic traditions to survive the 1930s.² Compared to social documentary, "photojournalism is less radical, less overtly propagandist, and more superficial," or, "social-documentary with a formalist bent."³ Frank bordered the margins of photojournalism and social documentary, and his aesthetic style was opposed to the strict formalism of art photography.

The newspaper photojournalist of the 1930s was commonly called a "press photographer," and fought for respect not only from reporters, but also from other professional photographers. Even though many press photographers accepted freelance jobs outside news, they were still viewed by many other photographers as being less artistic and independent than their imaging peers. The limitations of the press camera often required photographers to pose their subjects so they could control their light and focus, and to gain the opportunity to obtain more than one exposure. This meant photographers had to shout commands in order to control a situation, and this contributed to their reputation as loud-mouthed bullies. Many did not have a college education and they valued the utility of street smarts. A 1947 article in Journalism Quarterly reported the problems photographers had in earlier years:

Some of the prejudice...in the days of the old flash powder gun still holds....Some of it was due to the fact that members of the photographic profession were of a rough and tumble variety. They had to be. Theirs was a new profession. It was not accepted as a dignified one. In order to get the picture, the photographer resorted to tactics which are frowned upon today.⁴

Newspaper editors knew their readers enjoyed seeing photographs in magazines and their own papers, so they reluctantly supported more photographic reportage in the 1930s. It was strictly a business decision because reporters were reluctant to accept photographers as their

peers. "Journalists deflated the authority of photography in two main ways—by constructing photography as a medium of record and by constructing the photographer as a disembodied figure."⁵ In the first way, authority was deflated by establishing a denotative role for photography. Reporters and editors were concerned with photography's connotative properties, as seen in much of the government-supported photography of the Depression. By establishing the professional norm of denotative photography, the word side try to limit photography's scope to a supportive role. In the second way, reporters and editors spoke of the cameras and not the photographers.⁶ This disembodiment suggested the photographer was a mere operator of a thing more important: the camera. While no word person would have claimed the typewriter more important than a reporter, this was not so in discussions of photography. Contributing to the simplicity was the need for speed. Girvin identified the pressure of competition as an influence in keeping photographs simple. "The pressure for speed mitigates against the quality in newspaper photographs....Editors would rather use a fair picture to beat the opposition by an edition than wait for a better picture and be beaten by an edition."⁷

The tools of a photographer are often mentioned in histories of photojournalism because the level of technological advancement in photographic equipment contributes to what a photographer can and cannot do. The equipment photographers use does not determine the appearance of the final image, but it does impact how photojournalism is conducted. Similarly, a reporter's tools, like typewriters, computers, and notepads, have impacted how they did their work. In his 1939 book, Press Photography with the Miniature Camera, Duane Featherstonhaugh, describes the miniature camera as any camera utilizing film the size of 2 1/4 by 3 1/4 inches or smaller.⁸ The minis were much less obtrusive than the press cameras and allowed for more

candid photography. An advantage of using a miniature camera was the "speed" of the lenses. While press photographers using Graflex or Speed Graphic cameras, known as "press cameras," had to cope with lenses with apertures of f4.5, users of the 35mm cameras could use lenses with apertures of f1.5. This meant the latter could use their cameras in much lower lighting conditions. In conjunction, film manufacturers were increasing the sensitivity of their film which benefitted those using the candid approach. Faster, more sensitive film was needed for this kind of photography. This increase in sensitivity allowed the photographer to forgo tripods and flashes in many situations.

The leading manufacturer of the 35mm camera was Leica, which offered its first models, the Leica Ia and Ib, in 1924.⁹ It became popular with German journalistic photographers like Erich Salomon, who was the first person to take candid photographs of the world's political leaders. Salomon and his imitators primarily worked for German periodicals. The success of the German picture magazines Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung and Munchner Illustrierte Press motivated Henry Luce to start his own magazine, LIFE, which utilized the miniature camera.¹⁰ LIFE even hired Zeitung's editor, Kurt Korff, to teach editors how to edit, crop and layout photographs for the magazine. Despite LIFE's popular utilization of the miniature camera, it did not immediately become the camera of choice at newspapers, where most of the U.S. photojournalists worked. Even at LIFE many photographers still used the larger cameras rather than the 35mm Leica. The real transition from the press camera to the miniature camera did not occur until the 1950s and 1960s. "The small hand-held [Leica] eventually became as firmly associated with the photojournalist as the battered portable typewriter was with the war correspondent."¹¹

Newspaper photographers were reluctant to change. In the 1930s, those newspapers with

large photography departments kept miniature cameras largely as supplemental gear used where press cameras and flashbulbs were prohibited. The veteran photographers were suspicious of the miniature cameras but many younger colleagues willingly experimented with them. Gannett Newspapers experimented with providing reporters Zeiss Baby Ikontas, but this failed because many lacked the skill to produce usable pictures and photographing took time away from written reporting.¹² The 1930s ended with press photographers still relying on the bulky American-produced press cameras instead of the miniature cameras, the best of which were made in Germany.

Photojournalism's technical development was stalled during its war against the Axis powers because there was little advancement in newspaper technique and processes.¹³ Creatively, however, war coverage contributed to a growing emphasis on, and respect for, photojournalism. The best war photographers, many of them European and already quite familiar with the miniature camera, utilized the smaller camera to make themselves more accessible to front-line coverage. Photographers like Robert Capa provided dramatic photographs which could not have been taken without the use of quicker and smaller equipment. Through publications such as LIFE the public was able to see a style of photojournalism which was able to react to events and human actions rather than stage them. War photographers helped to establish the growing professionalism of press photographers by virtue of association.

According to Scherschel and Kalish, the press photographer of the mid-late 1940s was a different person. "A few years ago, the newspaper photographer was a picture-taking automaton. He was a 'tool' of a reporter, acting on orders of the man with the notebook. Now, in this picture-minded world, the lensman is a photo reporter."¹⁴ The new importance of pictures meant good

photographers were needed by newspapers so "the copy boys of today are no longer tomorrow's photographers."¹⁵ Noel agreed, "The cameraman as an individual, and as a member of the editorial staff, has started to gain recognition from the paper's front office and the public in general."¹⁶ Despite the changes, photographers were still regarded as lower-level employees, and those at newspapers were not equated with their famous colleagues at LIFE. Even at LIFE photographers were looked down upon by many editors and reporters.¹⁷ War photographers raised the reputation of press photographers but they did not transform the position of all journalistic photographers into journalistic professionals equal to reporters. There was even debate after the war if press photography could and should be taught at universities.¹⁸

After the war the miniature camera was still not being utilized by press photographers. Scherschel and Kalish, in Graphic Graflex Photography: The Master Book for the Larger Camera, remind readers that the "news photographer's almost unanimous choice is the Speed Graphic, usually the 4 x 5 size." As an example of its popularity, they report the Milwaukee Journal equips each photographer with a 4 x 5 Speed Graphic, fitted with an f4.7 lens, and that a miniature camera is part of the department's supplemental gear (see image #1).¹⁹

Photojournalism and Photography in the 1950s

Technical improvements in photography during the 1950s were overshadowed by tensions within photography. Photojournalism's popularity increased along with the rise of the picture magazines, but peaked during the mid-1950s. A 1955 exhibition marked the celebration but also the end of photojournalism's popularity as a purveyor of American ideals and values. George Russell has called the period of photojournalism from 1950 through 1980 one of "new directions."²⁰ Photojournalism changed because of the near death of one medium and the growth

of another. The increasing popularity of television and the decline of the picture magazines hurt the growth of photojournalism. While the United States in the 1950s America had the reputation of being an unexciting decade wrought with conformity, for photography it was a decade of debate over its own identity. Photojournalism adopted a rather conservative aesthetic instead of accepting the alternative avenues of representation seen in documentary and art photography. To understand how photojournalism continued to develop in the 1950s, it is useful to understand it in the context of photography in general. The tensions within photography—especially photojournalism—can be seen by examining an exhibition, “The Family of Man,” and a book, The Americans. The former was initially successful but later criticized, and the latter was initially unpopular but became a model for many for many photographers. “The Family of Man” took an American view of the world, while the The Americans was a Swiss photographer’s view of America.

John Szarkowski, curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City, identified three important events of the 1950s which have impacted American photography the most. The first event was the founding of Aperture magazine in 1952. It was an outgrowth of the formalism which survived the 1930s. Next on Szarkowski’s list was “The Family of Man” exhibition, which was the creation of MoMA in 1955.²¹ According to Szarkowski, “The Family of Man,” directed by Edward Steichen, marked the tension between photographers’ creative visions and the demands of editors and curators. “Although delighted to see photography so demonstratively appreciated, many photographers were distressed that the individual character of their own work had been sacrificed to the requirements of a consistent texture for the huge tapestry of the exhibition.”²² The exhibition was widely popular with

Americans who did not normally visit museums.

Steichen, who was Szarkowski's predecessor, created a body of work accessible to the average American but excluded aesthetically experimental photographs. Instead of contemplating the popular abstract paintings of the time, visitors went to see many journalistic-style photographs which they were already familiar with. Many of the exhibited photographs were borrowed from the archives at LIFE, and many journalistic photographs were on display from other sources.

The third event Szarkowski identified was the publication of Robert Frank's book, The Americans, which was first released in France in 1958, then in the United States the following year. Born in 1924, Frank was raised in Switzerland and came to the United States in 1947 looking for work as a photographer. With the support of well-known photographers Walker Evans, Alexey Brodovitch and Steichen, Frank was awarded Guggenheim grants for 1955 and 1956. His project was to travel across the country photographing what he encountered. The wealthy, average and poor were all worthy subjects for Frank. He saw an America different than the one advertised in movies, newspapers and magazines. He was well aware of how people could become marginalized in a country. While Hitler was storming Europe, the native Frank had to gain Swiss citizenship by losing his Jewishness. His citizenship was granted days before the war's end.²³ Later, his odd accent, appearance and foreign camera equipment led to his arrest in Arkansas. State police suspected he was a Communist spy and this experience did nothing to counter Frank's critical outlook on the authority figures of America, who were presented with their impurities on display. The Americans, his most famous work, has been regularly reprinted and favorably reviewed by critics, despite the heavy criticism it received upon its original

publication.

Absent from Szarkowski's list of important events in 1950s photography is LIFE magazine. To many photographers LIFE's significance in the 1950s was strong but quickly dwindling. After World War II, LIFE remained what it was before the war--the magazine of choice for photographers and readers. While the infant known as television would grow to compete for the eyes of the American public and the dollars of American advertisers, it did not compete for the talent of American photographers. LIFE had been modeled after the German picture magazines, but due to its success it took a life of its own. Its expansive use of photographs and adoption of candid photography made it attractive to many photographers before the war. The magazine was committed to hiring the best photographers it could find and they started with one of the best photographers ever, Henri Cartier-Bresson, who was hired to provide photographs for its dummy issue.

LIFE magazine was important to Americans after the war because it provided images of happy and domesticated American families to actual families who were seeking stability and contentment.²⁴ A supposed "real" America was chosen by LIFE to represent the country as a whole, and by using the representational technique of realism, the magazine created an aura of authenticity which enabled the magazine to create a trusting relationship with the reader.²⁵ One of its most successful photo essays was W. Eugene Smith's "Country Doctor," which elevated the common man to heroic status. The doctor's exploits as a man are fantastic not because he is presented as a god, but rather as a man who commits himself to the community. Smith created a heightened sense of reality through his photographic techniques. In many cases, rather than using available light, Smith lit the scene to reveal details which enhanced the experience of 'knowing.'

The reader could see revealing features, like the fatigue on the doctor's face, and have a sense of being present with him (see image #2).

During the war LIFE published many war-related photographs. Their photographers were overseas covering the most important news story for a magazine not known for its hard news coverage. After the war its photographers may have thought they were working for two different magazines. One was the LIFE which just had about two dozen photographers revealing the most brutal aspects of the war. At the same time they were the LIFE which published unsubstantial photographs. For example, one such image was of a 21-year-old actress playing with a bubble in the bath tub, and another is J.R. Eyerman's well-known image of movie theater patrons wearing 3-D glasses (see images #3 and #4).

For photographers wanting to publish in the United States, some of the best alternatives to LIFE were fashion magazines, especially Vogue and Harper's Bazaar. It has been common practice for photographers to take freelance jobs outside of their specific discipline. Many photographers care little whether they do feature magazine assignments or fashion, as long as they get paid and can photograph their subjects in their own style. Harper's layout was designed by Alexey Brodovitch, who informally taught some of the most important photographers of the era. Brodovitch held workshops for his New York City students first at the New School for Social Research and then at photographers' studios. Some photographers came to improve their work and others hoped to be discovered by Brodovitch.²⁶ One of his proteges was Robert Frank, who tried his hand at fashion photography but left unsatisfied.

Many of the East Coast photographers were familiar with the latest art movements because many progressive artists worked around New York City. American art had always paled

in comparison to Western European art because the former was simply a slowly developing reflection of the latter. The first American art movement to gain an international reputation and influence European artists was abstract expressionism. The so-called placid American 1950s was also the new home of avant-garde art, which relocated from Paris to New York City.²⁷

Abstract expressionism has its roots in the Depression years, and its greatest successes were in the late 1940s and 1950s. LIFE tried to explain its meaning to their readers in a two-part series in 1959 by the magazine's art editor, Dorothy Seiberling. She called it "a source of bafflement and irritation to the public at large," and tried to explain it through its most successful practitioners.²⁸ Jackson Pollock was presented the first week to be followed by Willem de Koonig, a one-time neighbor of Robert Frank, Clyfford Still, Mark Rothko and Franz Kline. Abstract expressionism, also known as "action painting," was described as the work of artists who "found themselves rejecting the past. They considered them adequate only to express the times in which they were created. Their own times--charged with wars and tension, bombarded with the complexities of science, clouded by the mysteries of outer space and man's inner being--were as different from past epochs as an airplane from a wagon. To express these times they felt they needed a style that was tense, explosive, mysterious and altogether new."²⁹

Abstract expressionism was also an appropriate style for the age of McCarthyism. Many artists, especially photographers, were hesitant to represent social issues in their art. The listing of the Photo League as a subversive organization is the most well known example of the government pressuring artists to stop their social commentaries during this era. The formlessness of an artist's ideas and beliefs as displayed in abstract expressionism was hard to label as Communist. It expressed drama through color and contrast, while the movement of the paint

reminds us of being caught up in times one cannot control. It served as a major stylistic influence for East Coast photographers. The New York City practitioners of action painting became known as the "New York School." This was also the name given to the photographers led by magazine designers Brodovitch and Sid Grossman, who was the target of harassment by the FBI for his role in The Photo League. The "New York School" of photographers adopted an expressionistic approach to documentary photography. Some, like Frank, applied it to traditionally journalistic subject matter like parades and political events. The New York School tried to express action rather than traditional formalism's contemplativeness.

The "existential imperative" of the abstract artists was a far cry from vastly popular "The Family of Man" show.³⁰ Organized by Edward Steichen, director of photography at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), "The Family of Man" consisted of 503 photographs by 273 photographers.³¹ The exhibition was both good and bad for photography. The exhibition enticed many people to visit a museum who had never gone before, and what they came to see were not paintings but photographs. Its popularity was so great that the United States Information Agency sponsored a seven year international tour. On the negative side, it downplayed the individuality of photographers in favor of a meta-narrative of humanity. For Badger, it was "the embodiment of fifties photo-journalistic values, their zenith. It was also the last great fling of this mode, a mode that was becoming less relevant both to photographers and, though more gradually, to the communications industry."³²

Steichen, an acclaimed photographer himself, sought the best photographs, whether by professionals or amateurs, to represent his concept of the universality of humankind. As his search for images progressed he became increasingly dependent on professional photographers.

Steichen traveled through Europe in 1952 to meet with photographers and used Frank as his translator. But his best source for photographs was actually the archives at LIFE. In 1953 Wayne Miller, Steichen's assistant, searched through more than 3.5 million images in their files. Miller also searched through the National Archives, Library of Congress and the files at Look. Without much success with the government files, he turned to the photo agencies Black Star, Magnum and Sov Photo.³³ This contributed to the number of photographs in the exhibition which were made outside the United States.

The reaction to the exhibition, and the spinoff book and touring exhibition, was favorable for years but dissent began to be heard as the U.S. got farther away from the 1950s and into the 1960s. The body of work became a "counterpoint for rebellious comment."³⁴ Steichen's theme may have worked in the mid-1950s, but as more and more people recognized social inequalities his theme seemed more like an act of American propaganda. His goal for the unity of images--that no image stands out but contributes to the whole experience--may have been the flaw of his work. Independently strong images were eligible for exclusion if they gathered too much attention. One such image which was initially included but later removed was of a black man brutally restrained to a tree. It was removed because so many people stopped to examine it that Steichen felt the flow of the exhibition was being lost.

Szarkowski argued "The Family of Man" marked an important moment in photography:

In this sense "The Family of Man" was perhaps the last and greatest achievement of the group journalism concept of photography--in which the personal intentions of the photographer are subservient to a larger, overriding concept. The exhibition thus ran counter to the ambitions of the period's most original younger photographers; and in spite of its artistic quality and enormous success, it had little perceptible effect on the subsequent directions of American photography.³⁵

The group concept remained as the operationalization of professional norms, but photojournalism lost the positive public exposure it once had. Photojournalism had been progressing over the last few decades and its culmination was "The Family of Man." It presented the best of the picture magazine style of photojournalism, but these picture magazines and their style were dying. Newspaper photojournalism remained despite a lack of creative leadership. It was in this environment, the retrospective of American photojournalism which "The Family of Man" provided and the declining popularity of picture magazines, which Robert Frank went to work on a personal project to document the United States.

Robert Frank

Included in the exhibition was work by many well-known photographers, including Robert Frank. Frank's Americans is a pivotal moment in photojournalism because of his approach and the controversy it caused. His style as an alternative form of photojournalistic expression was vastly overlooked. Frank's style was not totally new in itself. It was similar to, if not inspired by, the work of others in the New York School. What Frank was able to successfully do was create a poetic collection of images around a theme, America, but at the same time allow the readers to construct the story a single image at a time. Unlike many of his peers, most notably Diane Arbus, Frank did not concentrate on the bizarre elements of society but instead chose very conventional subject matter.

Creatively, Frank traveled far in his photography before he made The Americans. One of his early instructors was Michael Wolgensinger, a proponent of a "New Photography" in Europe. Similar in principle to the f-64 group in the United States, this particular movement emphasized accurate representation of subject and image sharpness. They were the Ansel Adams

photographers of Europe. Frank's early photographs reflect their principles. Some of his subject matter--journalistic photographs of holiday celebrations and local festivals--would be a constant point of his interest to him³⁶

He traveled to New York for a visit, arriving in March 1947. He quickly found work from Brodovitch to photograph for the magazines Harper's Bazaar and Junior Bazaar. The following year, 1948, he traveled to Peru and Bolivia, and in 1949 Frank made his way through France, Spain, Italy and back to Switzerland.³⁷ Frank was gaining recognition in Europe for his photography. In 1949, an overview of his work was published in Camera, and in 1955 he was included in "Photography as Expression," an exhibition in Zurich. By now his work reflected different ideals than the outdated European New Photography.³⁸

The year 1955 was important for Frank not only because he had work in the Zurich exhibition and "The Family of Man," but more importantly he received a Guggenheim grant. He was already living in the United States when he received the grant and he planned to "produce an authentic contemporary document, the visual impact should be such as will nullify explanation...."³⁹ His grant was renewed in 1956 and he spent 1957 printing and organizing his photographs. The influences of commercial and journalistic photography on him contributed to his coherent sequencing of photographs in his plan for the book.⁴⁰ After having his work rejected by LIFE and being unable to find a book publisher in the United States, Frank turned to Robert Delpire. Following the 1958 release of his book in France as Les Americains, Frank found a U.S. publisher to print it 1959. Critical comments of the U.S. in Les Amercains were replaced by each image's title, year photographed and subject's location, on the pages facing the photographs. The original introduction was replaced with one by Frank's new friend, Jack Kerouac. They became

friends after the photographs were made, but Kerouac had a similar experience of America as seen from the road. He writes in that misspelled Kerouac form of his:

Anybody doesnt like these pictures dont like potry, see? Anybody dont like potry go home see Television shots of big hatted cowboys being tolerated by kind horses.⁴¹

Frank's American males are not cowboys tolerated by horses, but a tattooed man in a Cleveland park, a black man in leather on a motorcycle, a cowboy leaning against a garbage can in New York City (see image #5), a Jehovah's Witness in Los Angeles, and a Jew on Yom Kippur. The men and women in his book are typically American even though they never appeared on the cover of LIFE. They are on the streets and parks but not in the magazines and newspapers. Frank used his Leica to get closer and more intimate with his subjects than press photographers were getting to their subjects with press cameras and "objective" stances.

The book was not an immediate success because Frank's aesthetic style and content flew in the face of most photography. His approach was not well known outside of the confines of the New York School. The New York Times gave a Frank a good review, but Popular Photography devoted several pages to a harsh critique of his work. A later issue included a letter to the editor by Herb Keppler of Modern Photography, who said his magazine was in agreement with Popular Photography. These magazines favored the more conservative and formalistic photography of Smith and Adams. Frank was accused of focusing on the rare and unusual negative aspects of America. They may have been negative, but they were far from rare and unusual. He showed politicians making deals instead of kissing babies (see image #6), and blacks serving whites (see image #7). Many journalistic events were covered, political conventions and car accidents, but in a manner not covered by the press. While the mainstream press looked for simplistic images to

tell a story, Frank stripped away the veil of professional objectivity. Instead of weeping family members to represent the loss of life, he shows roadside crosses lit by a stream of light from the sky (see image #8). The American flag is regularly presented in a variety of situations to demonstrate how Americans use the flag for "show" but don't really seem to believe in the supposed American ideals of freedom and equality.

Frank's subjective approach stands in contrast to the call for objectivity in 1950s photojournalism. Being "objective" was one way photographers thought they could earn respect in the newsroom. The well respected photographer Joseph Costa wrote in 1954 that photographers needed to become more journalistic. "Emotional reaction alone is seldom enough; the good photo-reporter must also develop his ability to think objectively," and "it is a part of his job to report all of the facts so that the editor may have the material with which to produce a well-balanced, objective report." Despite this advice, posing is still considered acceptable "if [the photograph] does not look posed."⁴² Costa's argument, which was widely accepted by photojournalists in the 1950s and is still even promoted by many editors today, complicates the idea of truth. Frank's images in The Americans were perceived as not only aesthetically radical, but so subjective that he was accused of not presenting the truth about America.

Conclusion

Frank's photographic style was never adopted outright by mainstream photojournalists, although he did become a major influence for younger photographers. Both Popular Photography and Modern Photography, magazines for the amateur photographer, condemned Frank because of his content and technique. They believed Frank's version of America was anti-American. In addition, they were opposed to the grainy appearance of photographs and their almost

unformalistic compositions. The magazines favored the sharp and finely grained images of photographers who did not critique their country.

Frank documents what it is to be American and by doing so actualizes the role of the photojournalist. To claim that he is not a photojournalist is to take a narrow position on what photojournalism is and should be instead of what it can be. A loose definition could be: A photographer who records social existence, without significant alteration of the scene or image, with purpose of presenting the images in a journalistic medium, such as newspaper, magazine or book. The traditional definition of a photojournalist, reporting with a camera, tends to be based on what is typically done on the job--the occupational habit--and ignores the marginalized practices as well as the possibilities. Frank succeeds because in the creation of his images he was not constrained by the demands of an employer, so he was able to open himself to the possibilities of each moment in the photographic process. His images are no less truthful than most newspaper photographs. They may be more truthful because he shows the pimples on the face of 1950s American domesticity. Yet because his work was not in the occupational norm, Frank's photography is rarely considered photojournalism.

Photojournalists appeared to have little use for this style when it originally hit the scene in the 1950s--and they still haven't adopted it in whole. To have adopted this style in the 1950s would have required them to overcome several obstacles. First, they would have had to quickly adopt the miniature camera. Frank began using a Leica in the late 1940s but most newspaper photographers were still tied to their press cameras in the 1950s. Although news photographers witnessed the results of war photographers working with miniatures, the transition to the miniature was more active in the 1960s. This delay allowed the traditional techniques of

photojournalism to become more standardized. Second, they would have had to relearn the art of seeing. This approach required a more critical eye to detect the unfolding of life rather than the ability to construct it. The ethical photojournalist who did not pose pictures and who was also more knowledgeable in aesthetics, through a college education, did not really develop until decades later. Third, the photojournalist would have to convince their editor of the validity of this approach. Editors remain largely untrained in photography and journalism programs almost always support print reporting over photojournalism and broadcast reporting. This situation was even worse in the 1950s. Editors' illusions of objectivity and their perception of photography's role as an identifier were opposed to the alternative form of photojournalism available.

Journalistic publications have usually discouraged any convergence of photographic reporting and artistic styling. As a result, according to Kent Brecheen-Kirkton, "subtle or sophisticated compositional techniques are virtually absent from news pictures as are any other indications that would remind viewers that the producer of the photograph is a skilled practitioner."⁴³ A similar situation exists in photojournalism research. Photojournalism scholarship is underdeveloped because it exists on the margins of both journalism and art. These disciplines tend to focus their research on written reporting, in the first case, and painting and sculpture, in the second case. There is little bridging of either photojournalism and art in practice or in research. The work of Robert Frank provides an example of how they were bridged. His work isn't typically viewed as photojournalism because the work is inherently opposed to it, rather, the historical constructs which have defined photojournalism have limited its scope. By using an historical approach the scholar of photojournalism can learn not only what happened, but also under what conditions did something not happen. In this case, what did not happen was

the expansion of photojournalism to include gritty aesthetics and subjective photography. In 1947 Robert E. Girvin argued newspapers had not used photography for social documentation because editors did not perceive it as a medium for storytelling. This is acutely accurate at most newspapers in the United States today. Photographers who have adopted this approach are still considered to be working on the margins of photojournalism.

Images



Image 1

Image #1 by Milwaukee Journal

Ken Kobre, Photojournalism: The Professionals Approach (: Focal Press, 1995), .



Image 2

Image #2 by W. Eugene Smith

Jim Hughes, W. Eugene Smith: Shadow and Substance: The Life and Work of an American Photographer (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1989). No page numbers are attributed to those with images.



Image 3

Image #3 by Peter Stockdale

John Loengard, LIFE: Classic Photographs (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1988), 33.



Image 4

Image #4 by J.R. Eyerman

Ibid., 109.

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Image 5

Image #5 by Robert Frank

Robert Frank, The Americans, 2nd ed. (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1969). Frank did not include page numbers past the introduction.

Image # 6 by Robert Frank

Ibid.



Image 6



Image 7

Image #7 by Robert Frank

Ibid.



Image 8

Image #8 by Robert Frank

Ibid.

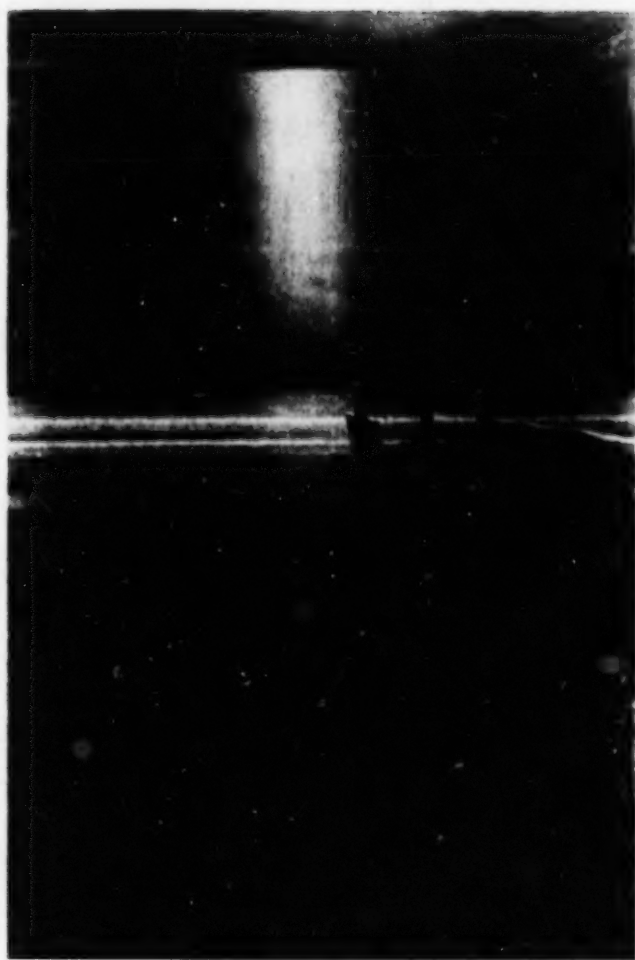


Image 9

Image #9 by Robert Frank

Ibid.

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Perceptions of Graphics Versus No Graphics on Web Sites

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Perceptions of Graphics Versus No Graphics on Web Sites

An experiment was conducted to better understand how the design of a web site affects the viewers' perceptions of it. High-graphic and low-graphic versions of web sites were compared by five groups of viewers. There was no difference in how difficult the viewers felt it was to find information on the sites. However, different demographic groups had different perceptions of attractiveness and different preferences for content or graphics.

Perceptions of Graphics Versus No Graphics on Web Sites

The World Wide Web is an evolving medium with traits very different from other media. Learning how to best use this medium is one of the biggest challenges facing communicators. John V. Pavlik, executive director of The Center for New Media Studies at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, wrote, "For many of us in the field, the point (of online journalism) is to engage the unengaged."¹

Literature Review

Understanding how to best create online journalism is a major challenge. In the September 1997 issue of *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs*, Eric Fredin proposed some ways of constructing news stories on the web.² He suggested options that would utilize many of the web's unique traits, such as hyperlinks and non-linear writing.

Constructing great content is only half the battle of creating web journalism. Mario Garcia, from the Pointer Institute for Media Studies, wrote, "The first step in the design of a web site, or any other form of design for that matter, is to create a visual environment that organizes the material to be presented and that is suitable for the content."³ Once people click to a page, they must feel an attraction to what they see and they must understand how they can get the information they need from the site. That's where web site design comes in. If a site is difficult to navigate, or difficult to read, the viewers are less likely to read the content.

Mindy McAdams, a web consultant and AJR NewsLink columnist, wrote that web designers must continually work on their sites to make them better.⁴ Successful sites "experiment with new functionality and find out whether users react positively," she wrote.

Jakob Nielsen, who leads web usability studies for Sun Microsystems, wrote, "Web users are impatient. They want to get their answers immediately and do not want to be slowed down by 'cool' features, mission statements, or self-promoting grandstanding."⁵ Golding and White agree that many graphics may cause problems. "On the web, what concerns us most is how

quickly the file downloads."⁶ So having graphics is not enough, but having fast-loading graphics is also necessary.

Eric K. Meyer, a managing partner of the AJR NewsLink online research and consulting firm, wrote that one myth of online publishing is that readers "demand rich audio-visual presentation." In fact, he said readers, and especially return visitors, want efficient presentation.⁷ Big advertisers and big sites are even limiting their use of graphics.

When graphics in printed newspapers have been studied, researchers find that you can have too many graphics, and too complicated graphics. James Tankard warned graphic designers of several pitfalls of newspaper graphics, including the "overly-complex graph" and the "unnecessarily three-dimensional graph."⁸

The question still remains: do graphics really help in the viewer's understanding of the site? Cronin and Myers looked at the effects of using visuals versus no visuals in the instruction of interactive media.⁹ They cited examples of previous educational studies that found visuals helped people understand the content. Visuals had also improved the recall of information. But when Cronin and Myers performed their own study, they did not find evidence to support the earlier research. The students who used visuals did not achieve higher cognitive test scores and did not have significant gains on a listening test. This study suggests that visuals are not as effective in learning as earlier studies found.

Redundancy in television graphics allows viewers' to better understand the story, according to an experiment by Drew and Grimes.¹⁰ They looked at both images and sound and found that recall improved with redundancy of the two.

Mark Timney looked at visual referencing and found no improvement of recall for high or low complexity graphics.¹¹ Recall of information graphics on television "appears to be related more to individual perceptual differences than graphical treatment," he wrote.

Whether or not visuals do help in learning or recall, perhaps they do persuade the viewers to read the content. But studies have not determined if visuals or graphics really make the viewers more interested in the site, or if graphics are preferred over content.

Research Questions

Many authors and web site designers have ideas about how they should design their sites. But little is known about the viewer's perceptions and preferences when it comes to web sites. If we understand what kind of sites people prefer, we can create web sites that they enjoy.

The main research question is:

How does the design of a web site affect people's perceptions of it?

There are six detailed research questions:

1. Can people find information easier on a high-graphic site or on a low-graphic site?
2. Do people perceive a site with many graphics to be more appealing than a site with fewer graphics?
3. How do people judge a web site—by looking at content or graphics?
4. Do people who focus on content v. graphics differ in their perceptions of a web site?
5. Do people of different demographics perceive web sites differently?
6. Do heavy web users perceive sites differently than light web users?

Method

To answer these research questions, an experiment was conducted using two web publications. One publication contained articles about heart disease, and the other contained articles about recycling. These topics were used because of their neutrality. The web publications and articles were written and designed by the author. Information for the articles was obtained using search engines on the web. Then the web publications were designed to look like a newspaper feature section or magazine publication. The sites did not look like the main home page for a newspaper or magazine, because a main page would have included many links and graphics. Instead, the publications looked like an "inside" page of a site, where there are more articles and fewer links and graphics.

For each of the two publications, there was a low-graphic version and a high-graphic version. The low-graphic version contained a simple nameplate as the only graphic. The high-graphic version contained animation, advertisements, photos and a nicer nameplate. Both versions contained identical text. Because there were two publications, each with a low- and high-graphic version, there were four sites to be viewed.

A pre-test was performed by eight undergraduate and graduate students to determine if the links to the sites worked correctly and to verify that they could see a distinct difference between the high-graphic and low-graphic sites.

The experiment was then conducted on five groups of students. The groups included two Journalism on the Web classes (which contained undergraduate and graduate students who were highly interested in the web), two beginning communications classes (which contained undergraduate students with varied interest in the web), and a secretarial class at a small career center (which contained adult students with less web experience).

The respondents ranged in age from 19 to 52, with a mean of 24.3. Over half of the respondents (58.7%) had been using the web between one and three years. Over a quarter (25.8%) had been using the web less than a year, while the remaining (15.5%) had been using the web over three years. When looking at the respondents' weekly web use, nearly half (44.6%) used the web between two and five hours per week. One-third (31%) were infrequent web users, getting online one hour or less per week, while nearly a quarter (22.4%) were on the web six or more hours per week.

Each student was asked to view two of the four web sites—the high-graphic of one publication and the low-graphic of the other publication. The articles were distributed so that half the students saw a high-graphic site first and half saw the low-graphic site first. This eliminated any primacy effect. A total of 58 students viewed the sites. Because each student viewed two sites, the sites were viewed a total of 116 times.

Results

When asked to name the kind of sites they view frequently, entertainment and news sites led the respondents' lists, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Types of sites viewed frequently

Type	N
Entertainment	42
News	39
Education	19
Other	13
Business	11
Government	5
Total	129*

*Total equals more than the number of respondents because each respondent could select more than one kind of site.

A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for normality found the responses were not normally distributed ($p < .05$); therefore, non-parametric procedures were used to answer the research questions.

Research Question 1

The experiment questionnaire asked respondents to browse around the web publications and answer three factual questions found on the site. They were then asked how difficult it was to find the answers to the three factual questions. These questions regarding difficulty were used to answer research question 1: *Can people find information easier on a high-graphic site or on a low-graphic site?* Table 2 shows there was no difference in difficulty between the high- and low-graphic sites, no matter which of the two web publications were being viewed. There was also no difference between the level of difficulty of the high- or low- graphic sites when

looking at the combination of the two publications. Therefore, neither graphics, nor a lack of graphics, makes a difference when searching for content on the web.

Table 2
Difficulty in answering questions
on high-graphic sites v. low-graphic sites

	N	mean rank	sum of ranks
Publication A			
Question 1 (high graphic)	28	26.3	737.0
Question 1 (low graphic)	30	32.5	974.0
Total*	58		
Question 2 (high graphic)	28	29.8	834.5
Question 2 (low graphic)	30	29.2	876.5
Total**	58		
Question 3 (high graphic)	28	26.9	752.5
Question 3 (low graphic)	30	32.0	958.5
Total***	58		

*Mann-Whitney U = 331.00; p = .117; not significant

** Mann-Whitney U = 411.50; p = .886; not significant

*** Mann-Whitney U = 346.50; p = .221; not significant

Publication B

Question 1 (high graphic)	30	29.2	876.5
Question 1 (low graphic)	28	29.8	834.5
Total*	58		
Question 2 (high graphic)	30	29.3	876.5
Question 2 (low graphic)	28	29.7	832.5
Total**	58		
Question 3 (high graphic)	30	30.7	920.5
Question 3 (low graphic)	28	28.2	790.5
Total***	58		

* Mann-Whitney U = 411.50; p = .884; not significant

** Mann-Whitney U = 413.50; p = .915; not significant

*** Mann-Whitney U = 384.50; p = .559; not significant

Table 2 (continued)
Difficulty in answering questions
on high-graphic sites v. low-graphic sites

	N	mean rank	sum of ranks
Publications A & B combined			
Question 1 (high graphic)	58	55.1	3196.0
Question 1 (low graphic)	58	61.9	3590.0
Total*	116		
Question 2 (high graphic)	58	58.6	3399.0
Question 2 (low graphic)	58	58.6	3387.0
Total**	116		
Question 3 (high graphic)	58	57.2	3319.5
Question 3 (low graphic)	58	59.8	3466.5
Total***	116		

*Mann-Whitney U = 1485.00; p = .226; not significant

** Mann-Whitney U = 1676.00; p = .972; not significant

*** Mann-Whitney U = 1608.50; p = .666; not significant

Research Question 2

Research question 2 asks: *Do people perceive a site with many graphics to be more appealing than a site with fewer graphics?* Respondents were asked to judge the sites for their level of attractiveness, ranging from very unattractive to very attractive. A Mann-Whitney test found a significant difference between the high- and low-graphic sites, as shown in Table 3. When looking at either web publication, the high-graphic site was considered more attractive.

Table 3
Attractiveness of high graphic sites v. low graphic sites

	N	mean rank	sum of ranks
Publication A (high graphic)	30	35.5	1063.5
Publication A (low graphic)	28	23.1	647.5
Total*	58		
Publication B (high graphic)	28	35.2	986.5
Publication B (low graphic)	30	24.2	724.5
Total**	58		

* Mann-Whitney U = 241.50; $p < .05$

** Mann-Whitney U = 259.50; $p < .05$

Research Question 3

Research Question 3 asks: How do people judge a web site—by looking at content or graphics? The respondents were asked how they determine if a site is good or bad—by looking at content, graphics, or a combination. As shown in Table 4, the responses were almost evenly split between "both, focusing on graphics," "both, focusing on content" and "both graphics and content evenly." The respondents seemed to recognize that graphics and content are both important when looking at web sites.

Table 4
How people judge a web site: by graphics or content?

Type	%
Content only	0.0%
Graphics only	3.5%
Both, focusing on graphics	29.3%
Both, focusing on content	37.9%
Both evenly	29.3%
	N=58

Research Question 4

Research Question 4 asks: *Do people who focus on content versus graphics differ in their perceptions of a web site?* A crosstab looked at the respondents' preferences for graphics or content and their views of the attractiveness of the web sites. There were fewer than five cases in many of the cells, so the categories were collapsed. The preferences for "content only" and "graphics only" were combined with "both, focusing on content" and "both, focusing on graphics," respectively. On the scale of attractiveness, "very unattractive" and "unattractive" were combined, and "very attractive" and "attractive" were combined. Please note that though there were 58 respondents, they each viewed two sites, so the total number of responses is 116. As shown in Table 5, the crosstab found no significant differences. Therefore, people who focus on content versus graphics do not differ in their perceptions of a web site.

Table 5
Preference for content or graphics by attractiveness of sites

	focus on graphics	both evenly	focus on content
	%	%	%
unattractive	15.8%	11.8%	13.6%
neutral	50.0%	41.2%	40.9%
attractive	34.2%	47.1%	45.5%
	N=38	N=34	N=44
chi square=1.55; df=4; p>.05; not significant			

Research Question 5

Research question 5 asks: *Do people of different demographics perceive web sites differently?* Crosstabs looked at gender and age against respondents' preferences for graphics or

content and their perceptions of site attractiveness. Because of too few categories in some cells, the collapsed categories that were used in research question 4 were used again. The age groups were created by dividing the respondents into three nearly equal groups. The groups are as follows: ages 20 and under (34.5%), ages 21 to 24 (36.2%), and ages 25 and over (29.3%).

There was no difference between men's and women's preferences toward content or graphics, but there was a difference in the age groups (see Table 6). The age 25 and older group had very few people who focused on graphics (17.7%), while the age 21 to 24 group had more than half of the respondents selecting graphics (52.4%). The 20 and under group was more evenly distributed, but it still had only a quarter of its respondents selecting graphics (25%).

Table 6
Gender, Age by preference for content or graphics

Gender	male	female
	%	%
content	33.3%	40.5%
graphics	42.9%	27.0%
both	23.8%	32.4%
	N=42	N=74

chi square=3.10; df=2; p=.213; not significant

Age	20 and under	21 to 24	25 and over
	%	%	%
content	45.0%	23.8%	47.1%
graphics	25.0%	52.4%	17.7%
both	30.0%	23.8%	35.3%
	N=40	N=42	N=34

chi square=12.38; df=4; p<.05

To further answer research question 5, crosstabs looked at the gender and age groups' view on site attractiveness. Both found significant differences. The females rated nearly half the sites either attractive or neutral (47.3% each), with few (5.4%) rated as unattractive. Males, on the other hand, considered more sites to be unattractive.

There were also significant differences when the age groups were crosstabulated with site attractiveness. Half of the 20 and under group considered the sites to be neutral (50%), while over half of the 25 and over group considered the sites to be attractive (52.9%). The middle age group, like the younger group, also considered more sites to be neutral (45.2%) than attractive (40.5%). There could be several reasons why the older age group considered sites to be more attractive than the younger age groups. Perhaps the older group had less experience viewing graphics and considered all graphics to be attractive. The younger people may have taken the graphics for granted or may have had higher expectations for their images. Another explanation can be found by looking at Table 6 again. Recall that the middle age group focused more on graphics than the other groups. Perhaps because they focused on graphics, they were more critical. The older age group that focused on content may have been less critical of graphics and attractiveness.

Table 7
Gender, age by attractiveness of site

Gender	male	female
	%	%
unattractive	28.6%	5.4%
neutral	38.1%	47.3%
attractive	33.3%	47.3%
	N=42	N=74

chi square=12.18; df=2; $p < .05$

Age	20 and under	21 to 24	25 and over
	%	%	%
unattractive	15.0%	14.3%	11.8%
neutral	50.0%	45.2%	35.3%
attractive	35.0%	40.5%	52.9%
	N=40	N=42	N=34

chi square=12.38; df=4; $p < .05$

Research Question 6

Research question 6 asks: *Do heavy web users perceive sites differently from light web users?* The preference for content or graphics and the level of site attractiveness were collapsed the same way as in research question 5. To determine the levels of heavy or light web users, the respondents were asked how many hours per week they use the web and how many years they have been using the web.

For the weekly web use, the respondents selected categories of "less than one hour" (31.0%), "2 to 5 hours" (46.6%), "6 to 10 hours" (13.8%) and "more than 10 hours" (8.6%). The respondents were collapsed into two categories: "5 hours or less" and "6 or more hours."

Respondents categorized their length of web use by selecting from "6 month or less" (15.5%), "7 months to a year" (10.3%), "1 to 2 years" (32.8%), "2 to 3 years" (25.9%), "3 to 4 years" (10.3%), and "over 4 years" (5.2%). The first two and last two groups were combined to make four relatively even categories.

There was no difference in the preference for content or graphics when looking at the weekly web use, as shown in Table 8. However, there was a significant difference when looking at the number of years they had been using the web. People using the web less than a year focused on "content" (46.7%), while people using the web 1 to 2 years tended to select "both content and graphics evenly" (52.6%). In each of the "2 to 3 years" and "over 3 years" categories, respondents selected "content" and "graphics" rather than selecting "both." There is no obvious explanation for these differences. Perhaps, when people first use the web, they are discovering new sites and feel like they focus on content. As they use the web longer, they recognize the fact that they look at both content and graphics. Then, as they become more experienced, they tend to find their own niche and move toward either content or graphics. Another explanation is that the respondents in this study just happened to fall into these categories, but the rest of the population would not necessarily categorize themselves in the same way.

Table 8
Weekly web use, length of web use
by preference for content or graphics

Weekly web use	5 hours or less	6 hours or more
	%	%
content	35.6%	46.2%
graphics	33.3%	30.8%
both	31.1%	23.1%
	N=90	N=26

chi square=1.08; df=2; p=.582

Length of web use	under 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	over 3 years
	%	%	%	%
content	46.7%	26.3%	40.0%	44.4%
graphics	33.3%	21.1%	40.0%	44.4%
both	20.0%	52.6%	20.0%	11.1%
	N=30	N=38	N=30	N=18

chi square=15.87; df=6; p<.02

To further answer research question 6, a crosstab looked at the weekly web use and length of web use by the site attractiveness. There were no significant differences in either crosstab, as shown in Table 9.

Overall, there was only one significant difference in research question 6—light versus heavy web users' perceptions of web sites. And, as stated earlier, that one difference can not be easily explained. Therefore, there does not seem to be any explainable difference in light versus heavy users' perceptions of the web.

Table 9
Weekly web use, length of web use by attractiveness of site

Weekly web use	5 hours or less	6 hours or more
	%	%
unattractive	13.3%	15.4%
neutral	42.2%	50.0%
attractive	44.4%	34.6%
	N=90	N=26

chi square=.800; df=2; p=.670

Length of web use	under 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	over 3 years
	%	%	%	%
unattractive	10.0%	18.4%	6.7%	22.2%
neutral	40.0%	42.1%	56.7%	33.3%
attractive	50.0%	39.5%	36.7%	44.4%
	N=30	N=38	N=30	N=18

chi square=5.37; df=6; p=.497 (25% of cells have expected counts less than 5)

Conclusions

Decisions made in this study have, of course, impacted the results, and readers must be cautious about them. The sites that the respondents viewed were created by the author and did not contain some of the Java scripting and other graphic elements that are found in many professional web sites today. Because the high- and low-graphic sites needed to contain the same content, it was impossible to make the high-graphic site look like many of the well-made newspaper sites today. Though students did see a difference between the high- and low-graphic sites, there still could have been much more added to the high-graphic sites to make them even more realistic of today's journalism on the web.

Another of the sites' traits—speed—could have also influenced the results. Even on the high-graphic sites, the images were created in small file sizes, and thus loaded quickly. The experiment was also conducted on a T1 web connection. Therefore, the slow download time that many modem-users dislike was eliminated. Perhaps if the high-graphic sites had loaded slowly, the results would have been different.

Yet, this study provides a clear indication that though the high-graphic sites were considered more attractive than the low-graphic sites, there was no difference in the level of difficulty between finding information on a high- or low-graphic site. In addition, respondents used both content and graphics to judge the quality of a web site. They were almost evenly split between "both, focusing on graphics," "both, focusing on content" and "both graphics and content evenly." Also, people who focused on content versus graphics did not differ in their perceptions of a web site.

When looking at gender and age, there was no difference between men's and women's preferences toward content or graphics, but there was a difference in the age groups. The older age group had very few people who focused on graphics. When looking at attractiveness of a site, females considered sites to be more attractive, while males considered them more unattractive, and the older age group considered sites to be more attractive than the younger

age groups did. When comparing light versus heavy web users, there does not seem to be any explainable difference in their perceptions of the web.

The overall research question asked: *How does the design of a web site affect people's perceptions of it?* There may not be any difference between finding information in a high-graphic site versus low-graphic site. However, different demographic groups do have different perceptions of attractiveness and different preferences for graphics or content. So even though they could adequately find information on any well-organized site, people may prefer certain types of sites. Some people will prefer the graphics, while others will focus on content.

It is important to continue to evaluate web sites and people's attitudes toward those sites. The media have performed audience analyses for years, and the web audience should be no exception. Future study could include more detailed evaluation of the kind of graphics people prefer on web sites. It could also include content analyses of the web designers' continual struggle between content and graphics.

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**Who Gets Named?:
Nationality, Race and Gender in *New York Times* Photograph Cutlines**

A Research Paper
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**Who Gets Named?:
Nationality, Race and Gender in *New York Times* Photograph Cutlines**

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75-word Abstract

This research examined 986 *New York Times* images to assess the impact of nationality, race and gender on named individuals in cutlines. Chi-square tests, significant at less than .001, showed that Americans were named more often than non-Americans. Caucasians were named more often than Hispanics, Asians and Middle Easterners, but less often than people of African descent. Males were named more often than females. Two hypotheses were still supported after controlling for nine story types.

Introduction/Literature Review

A well-established practice in journalism is to view proximity as a strong news value, which often results in a bias toward covering events and issues close to the immediate community rather than issues far away from the community in which the newspaper is published, including news and information from other nations.^[1] As a result, international stories consistently take up small percentages of the news hole.^[2] Everette Dennis has chronicled historical, social, political and economic reasoning for these trends toward small amounts of foreign news in American newspapers as well.^[3] One journalism and mass communication dean has noted that American newspapers seem to value stories featuring Americans over stories about people from other nations.^[4] His observation would probably apply to many American newspapers.

A British press baron once posted this notice in his newsroom: "One Englishman is a story. Ten Frenchmen is a story. One hundred Germans is a story. One thousand Indians is a story. Nothing ever happens in Chile."

American journalists may think of themselves as more progressive than their English cousins on Fleet Street. But the motto could as easily have been posted on the wall of a U.S. newsroom.^[5]

In one of the few studies about international news photos, the researcher found that United States newspapers devote less space to foreign news photos than Canadian newspapers and that most international news photos in Canadian newspapers concerned U.S. news, while virtually none of the international news photos in U.S. newspapers concerned Canadian news.^[6]

In a study of more than 250,000 newspaper photographs published during a 53-year time span, Lester^[7] found that coverage of minorities in American newspaper photos has increased steadily over the past 50 years, but that this was accompanied by an increase in stereotypical (crime, sports and entertainment) content categories.

Research by the University of Southern California/New York University Women, Men and Media Project has consistently noted low frequencies of women as sources in newspaper stories.^[9] In 1992, the researchers found that on front page stories of 20 newspapers, only 15 percent of the sources were women.^[9] A national study by McGrath^[10] found that newspaper readership by women is declining faster than readership by men. Fair^[11] concluded that media images of African women tend to marginalize them and depict them as dependent on men.

Social psychologists and historians have found that the practice of giving individuals names supports the idea that most cultures value names and that there are strong connections between and individual's name and his or her identity.^[12] Names are also viewed as indicators of cultural and social ideologies for individuals and groups.^[13] This line of research shows that most human beings value their names, and it could be reasonably argued that most people probably expect their names to appear when their images appear in the newspaper.

Many newspaper editors and photographers have had the experience of a mother or father calling the newspaper office to ask why their child's name did not appear when they were sitting right beside the lead trumpet player or running right beside the star basketball player. Journalists understand that the lead trumpet player or basketball star was probably the central figure in the photograph, but parents often may not appreciate this. But, when individuals are central to the story or the point of the photograph, it is reasonable to assume they expect to be named. Are they named? Who gets named and who doesn't? These are the central points of this research.

Research Questions/Hypotheses

As noted in the literature review, it is clear that mass communication researchers have established that there are distortions of nationality, race and gender in newspapers. This has been

primarily manifest in studies which show that international stories are not very common in newspapers published in the United States, that minorities are often subjects of crime, sports and entertainment stories and that women are largely underrepresented in news coverage.

Visual communication has been part of this line of research, yet so far, no study has looked at effects of nationality, race and gender in newspaper photographs in the same study. Moreover, a study which examines the very core human value of being named or not in newspaper photograph cutlines has yet to be published.

Studies which document frequency of appearance of people based on nationality, race and gender are important measures of media representation. However, an even more fundamental way of examining questions of media representation is to study how newspapers identify or do not identify people based on their nationality, race and gender when their images do appear in print. An important indicator of the value assigned to people who are subjects of newspaper photographs is whether their names appear in the cutlines which accompany the newspaper photographs containing their images.

The idea of using naming of individuals in newspaper photograph cutlines as a dependent variable raises some worthwhile questions for researchers and journalists. Are Americans more likely to be named in newspaper photograph cutlines than people of other nations? Are people in newspaper photos with events or datelines inside the United States more likely to be named than people in newspaper photos with events or datelines outside the United States? Are Caucasians more likely to be named than people of other racial groups? Are men more likely to be named than women? How does story content influence these trends?

Specifically, four hypotheses can be advanced to study these issues in a systematic, measurable, testable way.

H1: Americans will be named more often in newspaper photograph cutlines than people of other nations.

H2: Individuals appearing in photographs with datelines or events inside the United States will be named more often in newspaper photograph cutlines than individuals appearing in photographs with datelines or events outside the United States.

H3: Caucasians will be named more often than people of other racial groups (people of African descent, Hispanics, Asians, Middle Easterners) in newspaper photograph cutlines.

H4: Men will be named more often than women in newspaper photograph cutlines.

Method

To answer the research questions, a content analysis of two randomly constructed weeks of the *New York Times* was conducted. The *New York Times* was chosen because it is widely considered one of the most influential American newspapers with a significant national and international focus. The publication time period covered one year, Sept. 1, 1995- Aug. 31, 1996.

The unit of analysis was any individual appearing in any photo which contained people published during the time period of the study. All story types were included in the study except for advertising content. All pages in the issues of the newspapers were examined. Two coders coded the photographs along several dimensions. First coders established whether the photos contained people or not. Then nationality (American or not), race (Caucasian, African descent, Hispanic, Asian, Middle Easterner) and gender (male, female) of people who appeared in the photographs were coded. Individuals who appeared in the background or who were not otherwise part of the central point of the photo were not included in the analysis. Multiple individuals appearing in the same photograph were coded separately. Nationality, race and

gender were determined by appearance of the individual and/or textual cues in the cutlines and datelines. While this does present some methodological problems, most of the time people of other nations were identified in such a way that it was clear that they were from a nation other than the United States. For example, the cutline would identify an individual as a Somali woman or an Ethiopian child.

Other variables were place of event or dateline (nation), story type (natural disaster, war/conflict, political/government, sports, entertainment/leisure, crime, religion, human interest/feature, environment, local news, obituaries, business, technology/science, health/medicine, other disaster (man-made/accidental), and fashion/product demo).

An intercoder reliability test of 76 images published in 1994 showed 87-99 percent agreement for all categories between two coders, both graduate students in an accredited journalism and mass communication program.

Results

A total of 1,104 images of individuals and photos without people were examined. One hundred and 18 photos (10.7 percent) did not contain images of people and were eliminated from the analysis. A total of 986 images of people were published and included in the analysis.

Images of 735 (74.5 percent) Americans were published and 249 (25.3 percent) images of non-Americans were published. Nationality could not be determined on two images (0.2 percent).

The place of the event or dateline was dominated by United States locations; 686 (69.6 percent) of the images originated inside the United States. Table one shows the frequencies for all nations represented in the study.

Table 1 Frequencies of images by place of event or dateline

Place of Event/Dateline	Frequency	Percent
United States	686	69.6
unstated	111	11.3
Canada	24	2.4
Bosnia/Serbia/Croatia	23	2.3
England	18	1.8
Russia	14	1.4
India	11	1.1
China	10	1
Egypt	8	0.8
Germany	7	0.7
Cuba	7	0.7
Australia	6	0.6
Czechyna	6	0.6
Japan	6	0.6
Israel	5	0.5
Italy	5	0.5
South Korea	5	0.5
Ethiopia	5	0.5
Phillipines	5	0.5
France	5	0.5
Mexico	4	0.4
Thailand	4	0.4
Brazil	2	0.2
Poland	2	0.2
Haiti	2	0.2
Ireland	1	0.1
South Africa	1	0.1
Pakistan	1	0.1
Denmark	1	0.1
Afghanistan	1	0.1
Totals	986	100

Note: N= 986.

Caucasians were dominant in the images; 704 (71.4 percent) of people pictured were Caucasian; 158 (15.8 percent) were of African descent; 45 (4.6 percent) were Middle Eastern; 40

(4.1) percent were Asian and 37 (3.8 percent) were Hispanic. Race could not be identified in four (.04 percent) of the images.

Images of males (656, 66.5 percent) were more prevalent than images of women (312, 31.6 percent). Gender could not be determined for 18 (1.8 percent) of the images.

Of the 986 images analyzed, 529 (53.7) contained individuals who were listed by name in the cutline. Almost half (457, 46.3 percent) were not named.

Crosstabulations and Chi-square analyses were performed to test the hypotheses among the images of people. The significance level was set at .05. Almost all hypotheses were supported by the Pearson Chi-square analysis of statistical significance.

H1 was supported. Americans were named more than twice as often as people of other nations in newspaper photograph cutlines as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Chi-square analysis of nationality by naming in newspaper photograph cutlines

Nationality	Not named	Named
non-American	191 (76.7 %)	58 (23.3 %)
American	264 (35.9 %)	471 (64.1 %)
Total	455 (46.2%)	529 (53.8%)

Note. N= 984, Chi-square= 124.48, $p < .001$

H2 was supported. Individuals appearing in photographs with datelines or events inside the United States were named more often than individuals appearing in photographs with datelines or events outside the United States. An initial crosstabulation revealed 45 cells with too few frequencies to perform a chi-square analysis, so locations were collapsed into regions. Table 3 shows that among locations or datelines that were listed, only Americans were more often named than not named in newspaper photograph cutlines. People in locations in Western Europe

were the next group most often named, followed by people in locations in Mexico/South America and the Caribbean. People in other regions were named in less than 30 percent of the images.

Table 3: Chi-square of place of event or dateline by naming in newspaper cutlines

Place of Event/Dateline	Not named	Named
United States/Canada	290 (40.8 %)	420 (59.2%)
unstated	54 (48.6%)	57 (51.4%)
Western Europe	36 (60 %)	24 (40%)
Mexico/South America/Caribbean	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)
Asia/Australia	34 (70.8%)	14 (29.2%)
Russia/Eastern Europe/Republics	18 (78.3%)	5 (21.7 %)
Africa/Middle East	15 (78.9%)	4 (21.1%)
Totals	457 (46.3%)	529 (53.7%)

N= 986, Chi-Square= 44.98, $p < .001$

H3 was supported with one exception. People of African descent were named more often than any other racial group. Caucasians were named more often than Asians, Hispanics and Middle Easterners. Asians were named the least often. Table 4 shows the results of the analysis.

Table 4: Chi-square of race by naming in newspaper photograph cutlines

Race	Not named	Named
African descent	58 (37.2%)	98 (62.8%)
Caucasian	317 (45%)	387 (55%)
Hispanic	19 (51.4%)	18 (48.6%)
Middle Eastern	31 (68.9%)	14 (31.1%)
Asian	29 (72.5 %)	11 (27.5%)
Totals	454 (46.2%)	528 (53.8%)

Note. N= 982, Chi-square= 26.34, $p < .001$

H4 was also supported. Men were named more often than women in newspaper photograph cutlines as Table 5 indicates.

Table 5: Chi-square of gender by naming in newspaper photograph cutlines

Gender	Not named	Named
Male	271 (41.3%)	385 (58.7%)
Female	168 (53.8%)	144 (46.3%)
Totals	439 (45.4 %)	529 (54.6%)

Note. N= 968, Chi-square= 13.41, $p < .001$

Discussion and Exploratory Research

This study supports the hypotheses advanced; all but one was highly significant at less than .001. Americans were more than twice as likely as non-Americans to be named in photograph cutlines. Photographs covering events or with datelines in the United States were much more likely to include names than photographs of events or with datelines outside the United States. With the exception of people of African descent, Caucasians were much more likely to be named than people of other racial groups. Men were much more likely to be named than women.

What are possible explanations for these findings? One possibility is that certain story types might naturally exclude names because of difficulty in obtaining identification of individuals or for other reasons. To test for this possibility that story type may have an impact on the hypotheses, an exploratory Chi-square analysis of story type and whether individuals were named or not was performed. Some categories from the original list were collapsed to enable statistical analysis due to empty cells. Results indicated some differences among story types as shown in Table 6. As expected, disaster stories and war/conflict stories had the highest incidence of not naming individuals. Among the remaining categories, features/human interest and local news were the only categories with less than 50 percent of the individuals named.

Table 6: Chi-square of story type by naming in newspaper photograph cutlines

Story Type	Not named	Named
Business	22 (23.2%)	73 (76.8%)
Entertainment	63 (28%)	162 (72%)
Crime	17 (35.4%)	31 (64.6%)
Sports	73 (42%)	101 (58%)
Politics/Government	54 (47.8%)	59 (52.2%)
Features/Human Interest	71 (58.7%)	50 (41.3%)
Local News	67 (66.3%)	34 (33.7%)
War/Conflict	61 (81.3%)	14 (18.7%)
Disasters	29 (85.3%)	5 (14.7%)
Totals	457 (46.3%)	529 (53.7%)

Note: N=986, Chi-square= 136.04, $p < .001$

To further examine the proposition that story type might influence the results of the hypothesis testing, exploratory crosstabulations and Chi-squares (where possible) with each story type as control variables were performed for each of the four hypotheses. This resulted in several dozen additional crosstabulations and Chi-Squares which were somewhat difficult to interpret due to many cells with frequencies too small to run the significance analyses. However it appears that across some story types the findings from the hypotheses testing still held true.

Table 7 shows that Americans in photographs were named more often than non-Americans across six story types including sports, entertainment, features, local news and business, all significant at less than .01 and politics/government, significant at less than .05. Disaster stories and war/conflict stories featured only Americans, so there was no way to compare with non-Americans on those types of stories. There were no significant differences on naming among crime stories. Cells with small frequencies should be interpreted with caution of course, but it appears that the hypothesis that Americans would be named more often than non-Americans in newspaper cutlines was still supported after controlling for story type.

Table 7: Chi-squares of story type by naming by nationality in newspaper cutlines

Story type	Nationality	Not named	Named	Chi-square	p
Disasters	non-American	0	0		
	American	29 (85.3%)	5 (14.7%)		
War/Conflict	non-American	0	0		
	American	60 (81.1 %)	14 (18.9%)		
Politics/Gov't	non-American	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)		
	American	48 (45.3%)	58 (54.7%)	4.3	<.05
Sports	non-American	55 (87.3%)	8 (12.7%)		
	American	18 (16.2%)	93 (83.8%)	83.39	<.001
Entertainment	non-American	51 (54.8%)	42 (45.2%)		
	American	12 (9.1%)	120 (90.9%)	56.64	<.001
Crime	non-American	1 (100%)	0		
	American	16 (34%)	31 (66%)		
Features	non-American	44 (97.8%)	1 (2.2%)		
	American	26 (34.7%)	49 (65.3%)	46.09	<.001
Local news	non-American	18 (100%)	0		
	American	49 (59.9%)	34 (41 %)	11.12	<.001
Business	non-American	16 (72.7%)	6 (27.3%)		
	American	6 (8.2%)	67 (91.8%)	39.53	<.001

Note. N= 986.

Frequencies were too small in numerous cells to accurately test the influence of story types on whether individuals in photos with events or datelines inside the United States were named more often than individuals in photos with events or datelines in nations and regions outside the United States. Therefore, categories were collapsed to include events or datelines outside the United States/Canada and inside the United States/Canada. Table 8 shows that individuals in photographs with events or datelines inside the United States/Canada were named more often than individuals in photographs with events or datelines outside the United States/Canada when the stories were about politics/government, sports and features. There were not significant differences between the two groups on the other story types, suggesting that story type may have some impact on naming by location and lending weaker support for the original hypothesis.

Table 8: Chi-squares of story type by naming by location in newspaper cutlines

Story type	Location	Not named	Named	Chi-square	p
Disasters	outside U.S./Canada	15 (93.8%)	1 (6.3%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	14 (77.8%)	4 (22.2%)		
War/Conflict	outside U.S./Canada	49 (79%)	13 (21%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)		
Politics/Gov't	outside U.S./Canada	25 (58.1%)	18 (41.9%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	29 (41.4%)	41 (58.6%)	2.98	< .05
Sports	outside U.S./Canada	18 (66.7%)	9 (33.3%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	55 (37.4%)	92 (62.6%)	8.02	< .01
Entertainment	outside U.S./Canada	10 (21.7%)	36 (78.3%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	53 (29.6%)	126 (70.4%)		
Crime	outside U.S./Canada	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	15 (36.6%)	26 (63.4%)		
Features	outside U.S./Canada	46 (73%)	17 (27%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	25 (43.1%)	33 (56.9%)	11.14	< .001
Local news	outside U.S./Canada	0	0		
	inside U.S./Canada	67 (66.3%)	34 (33.7%)		
Business	outside U.S./Canada	2 (16.7%)	10 (83.3%)		
	inside U.S./Canada	20 (24.1%)	63 (75.9%)		

Note. N= 986.

People of African descent were named more often than individuals of other racial groups across four story groups including sports ($p = < .01$), entertainment ($p = < .001$), crime ($p = < .05$) and features ($< .05$). Three of these categories (sports, entertainment and crime) represent stereotypical story types for people of African descent and should not be viewed as evidence of achievement. There were no significant differences among the other story types, primarily due to small cell frequencies. However, it is interesting to note that only one person of African descent, two Asians and two Hispanics showed up in business photographs, while 69 Caucasians were featured in such images. Several low cell frequencies on this variable made statistical inference impossible, so race categories were collapsed into two categories, non-Caucasian and Caucasian.

Table 9 summarizes these chi-square tests. Caucasians were named more often than non-Caucasians on stories about war/conflict and local news, but less often than non-Caucasians on sports and entertainment stories. These findings show that story type may have an influence and that the hypothesis that Caucasians would be named more than any other racial group is weakened. However, this may still be largely due to the fact that non-Caucasians were named more often on sports and entertainment stories.

Table 9: Chi-squares of story type by naming by race in newspaper photograph cutlines

Story type	Race	Not named	Named	Chi-square	p
Disasters	non-Caucasian	11 (91.7%)	1 (8.3%)		
	Caucasian	18 (81.8%)	4 (18.2%)		
War/Conflict	non-Caucasian	27 (93.1%)	2 (6.9%)	4.68	<.05
	Caucasian	32 (72.7%)	12 (27.3%)		
Politics/Gov't	non-Caucasian	18 (50%)	18 (50%)		
	Caucasian	36 (46.8%)	41 (53.2%)		
Sports	non-Caucasian	20 (29.9%)	47 (70.1%)	6.55	<.01
	Caucasian	53 (49.5%)	54 (50.5%)		
Entertainment	non-Caucasian	6 (16.2%)	31 (83.8%)	3.11	<.05
	Caucasian	57 (30.5%)	130 (69.5%)		
Crime	non-Caucasian	5 (27.8%)	13 (72.2%)		
	Caucasian	12 (40%)	18 (60%)		
Features	non-Caucasian	21 (55.3%)	17 (44.7%)		
	Caucasian	49 (59.8%)	33 (40.2%)		
Local news	non-Caucasian	28 (77.8%)	8 (22.2%)	3.28	<.05
	Caucasian	39 (60%)	26 (60%)		
Business	non-Caucasian	1 (20%)	4 (80%)		
	Caucasian	21 (23.3%)	69 (76.7%)		

Note. N= 982.

Males were named more often than women in five story types including politics/gov't, sports, features, local news and business. Women were named more often than men in association with crime stories. Table 10 shows that the hypothesis that men would be named more often than women in photograph cutlines was still supported after controlling for story type.

Table 10: Chi-squares of story type by naming by gender in cutlines

Story type	Gender	Not named	Named	Chi-square	p
Disasters	Female	12 (85.6%)	2 (14.3%)		
	Male	11 (76.6%)	3 (21.4 %)		
War/Conflict	Female	17 (89.5%)	2 (10.5%)		
	Male	38 (76 %)	12 (24%)		
Politics/Gov't	Female	21 (61.8%)	13 (38.2%)		
	Male	33 (41.8%)	46 (58.2%)	3.81	<.05
Sports	Female	11 (64.7%)	6 (35.3%)		
	Male	62 (39.5%)	95 (60.5%)	4	<.05
Entertainment	Female	21 (24.1%)	66 (62.6%)		
	Male	42 (30.4%)	96 (69.6%)		
Crime	Female	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)		
	Male	16 (44.4%)	20 (55.6%)	5.13	<.05
Features	Female	48 (66.7%)	24 (33.3%)		
	Male	17 (39.5%)	26 (60.5%)	8.06	<.01
Local news	Female	27 (90.0%)	3 (10%)		
	Male	40 (56.3%)	31 (43.7%)	10.7	<.001
Business	Female	10 (37%)	17 (63%)		
	Male	12 (17.6%)	56 (82.4%)	4.08	<.05

Note. N= 968.

Overall, two of the hypotheses remained strong after the exploratory research was performed. Americans were named more often than non-Americans and men were named more often than women after controlling for story type. The other two hypotheses were weakened by exploration of the impact of story type. It appears that whether a photograph with a dateline or was covering an issue inside the United States or outside the United States was not a strong predictor of naming when story type was controlled. Similarly, race did not appear to have a strong impact, but this may be due to stereotypical coverage of people of African descent. Clearly, images of people of other races (Asians, Hispanics and Middle Easterners) were not very common.

These findings suggest that photojournalists, photo editors or editors at the *New York Times* or their sources for these images may not be equally identifying people of other nations and

women in cutlines as measured by the practice of naming or not naming individuals central to the visual story in photograph cutlines. It is understandable that in professional journalistic practice that sometimes on some story categories identification of individuals by name is impossible to obtain. Indeed, in disaster stories and war/conflict stories, this study found that a large majority of individuals were not named. However, the exploratory analysis also showed that Caucasians were more likely to be named than Asians, Hispanics and Middle Easterners in association with such story categories. Males were more likely than women to be named in both story categories as well.

This and other findings in the study suggest some cultural bias. If journalists seek to be more diverse in coverage of news and information, naming individuals of all nationalities, races and genders whenever possible is an obvious place to begin. Since statistically significant findings were supported by this study, visual communication researchers should broaden research in this area by conducting studies of wider scope for improved generalizability. Perhaps an expanded study of a larger number of United States newspapers and international newspapers would bring the research to a higher level of abstraction and generalizability.

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